FLORENTINE CODEX

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Florentine Codex

General History of the Things of New Spain

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN

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Book 12 – The Conquest of Mexico

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations

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IN THIRTEEN PARTS

PART XIII

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To

Msgr. Angel María Garibay K. and Byron McAfee, who helped us in translating the text, and Don Rafael García Granados and Lic. Jorge Gurría Lacroix, who helped us in matters of historical accuracy,

we affectionately dedicate this book

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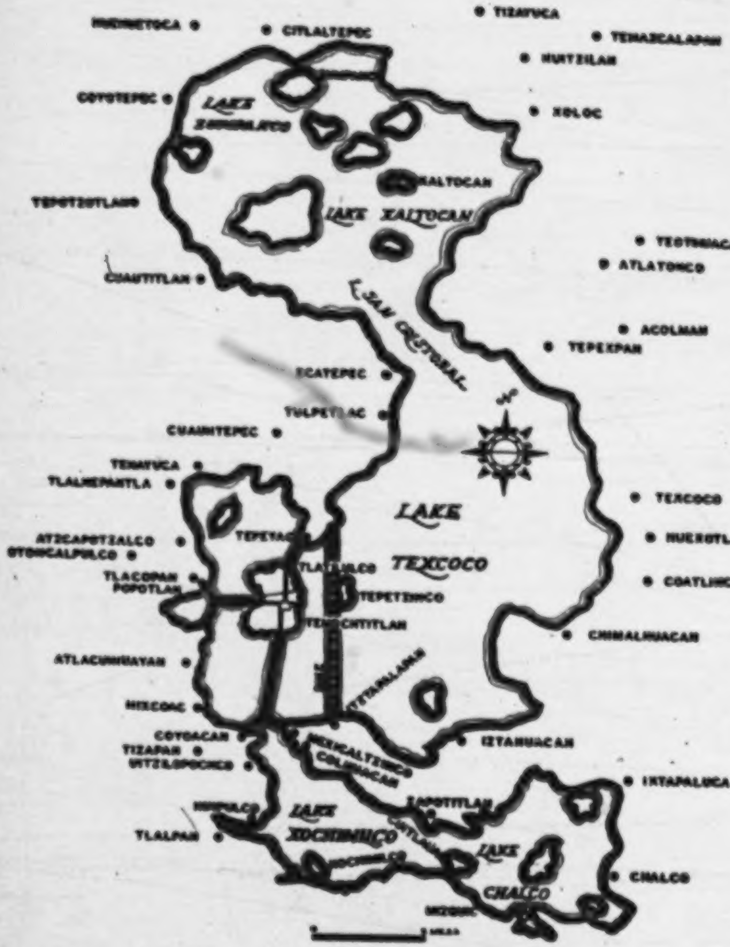
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ATLATONCO
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VALLEY OF MEXICO

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7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

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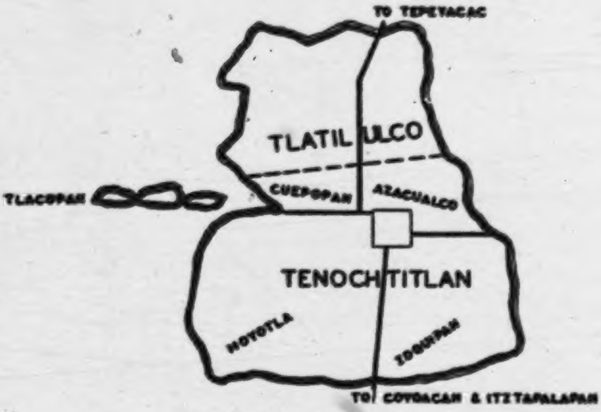

Chart showing two-fold division of the island and four-fold division of Tenochtitlan

KEY TO MAP OF TENOCHTITLAN-TLATELULCO

1. Palace of Moctezuma
2. Totocalco
3. Quauhquiauac
4. Tecpantzinco
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40. Xochicalco and Quauhquechollan
41. Yacacolco
42. Tlilhuacan and Atenantipan
43. Colhuacatonco
44a Xocotitlan or Cihuatecpan
45. Tetenamazcaloyan
46. Atenantzinco
47. Tenanquiaco

(After Orozco y Berra, with modifications suggested mainly by reference to Alfonso Caso, *Los barrios antiguos de Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco*. The locations of many of the places are provisional.)

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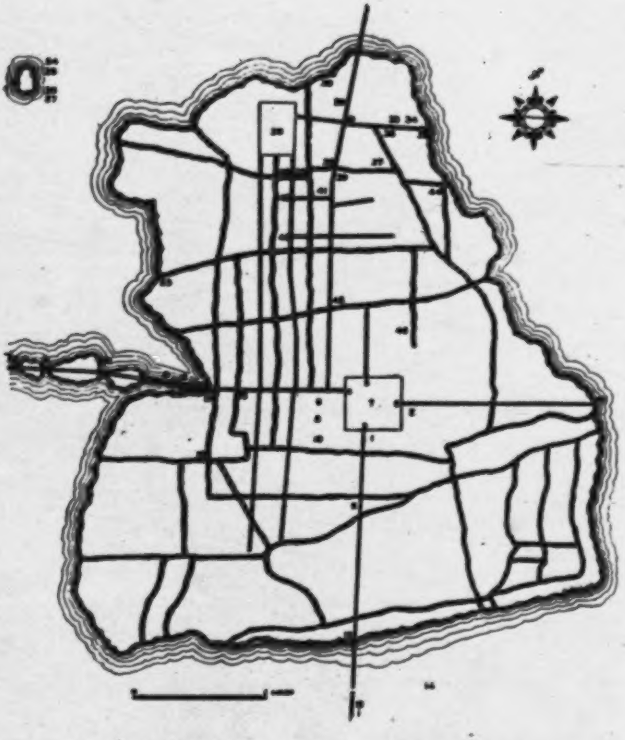

TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

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BOOK TWELVE--THE CONQUEST

EL DOZENO LIBRO
tracta de como los es
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taron a la ciu
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De la Conquista Mexicana

TWELFTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH HOW WAR WAS WAGED HERE IN THE CITY OF MEXICO.[1]

787 First Chapter. Here are told the signs which appeared and were seen, when the Spaniards had not yet come here to this land, when they were not yet known to the natives here.[2]

When the Spaniards had not arrived, by ten years,[3] an omen first appeared in the heavens. It was like a tongue of fire, like a flame, as if showering the light of the dawn. It looked as if it were piercing the heavens. [It was] wide at the base and pointed [at the head]. To the very midst of the sky, to the very heart of the heavens it extended; to the very midpoint of the skies stood stretched that which was seen off to the east. When it arose and thus came forth, when it appeared at midnight, it looked as if day had dawned. When day broke, later, the sun destroyed it when he arose. For a full year [the sign] came forth. (It was [in the year] Twelve House that it began.) And when it appeared, there was shouting; all cried out striking the palm of the hand against the mouth. All were frightened and waited with dread.

INJC MATLACTETL OMUME AMOXTLI, ITECHPA TLATOA IN QUENJN MUCHIUH IAUIOTL IN NJCAN IPAN ALTEPETL MEXICO.

Injc ce capitulo vncã mjtoa in nez, in mottac in machiotl yoã in tetzavitl, in aiamo valhuj españoles, in njcan tlalli ipan in aiamo no iximachoa in njcã chaneque.

In aiamo vallaci españoles, oc matlacxivitl, centlamãtli tetzavitl achto nez, ilhujcatitech iuhquj in tlemjiaoatl, iuhquj in tlecueçalutl, iuhqujn tlavizcalli, pipixauhticaca injc necia, iuhq'n ilhujcatl quijçoticac: tzimpatlaoac, quapitzaoac: vel inepantla in ilhujcatl; vel yiollo in aciticac ilhujcatl, vel ilhujcaiollotitech aciticac, in iuh ittoia vmpa tlapcopa: in oalmoquetzaia, oiuh onqujz ioalnepantla in necia tlatviliaia, ipan tlatvia, q'n iehoatl qujoalpoloaia in tonatiuh, in jquac oalqujçaia: vel ce xivitl in oalmoquetzaia (ipan matlactli omume calli in peuh). Auh in jquac necia tlacaoacaia, netenvitecoia, neiçaviloia, tlatemmachoia.

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[1] Book XII, as well as the other eleven, Sahagún says, was written in Tlatelolco. See Carlos Ma. de Bustamante (ed.): *La aparicion de Ntra. Señora de Guadalupe de Mexico, comprobada con la refutacion del argumento negativo que presenta D. Juan Bautista Muñoz, fundandose en el testimonio del P. Fr. Bernardino Sahagun* (Mexico: Ignacio Cumplido, 1840). The Tlatelolcan point of view is especially evident in this account. Cf. op. cit., p. 1. For a full history of the writing of the *Historia general*, however, see Wigberto Jiménez Moreno: *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún y su obra* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), and Angel María Garibay: *Historia de la literatura náhuatl* (México: Editorial Porrua, 1954), passim, and II, pp. 246 seqq.

The translators regard this history of the Conquest as an Aztec account. Hence there is no attempt to compare it with histories by contemporary Spanish writers, or with other sources, except to clarify the Nahuatl text. The student of the history of the Conquest will find such sources as Cortés' letters, Bernal Díaz, Cervantes de Salazar, Aguilar, and others, necessary for the complete narrative.

[2] See also Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book VIII — Kings and Lords (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph 14, Part IX, and University of Utah, 1954), Chapter VI.

[3] Two years, in Bustamante, op. cit., p. 5. Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (Caecilie Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, and Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), p. 453, n. 1, reads: *D. h. zwei Jahre vor der Ankunft der Spanier* (also: Bald ca A.D. 1517) *Die Angabe oben, dass diese Lichterscheinung zehn Jahre vor der Ankunft der Spanier gesehen worden sei, stimmt also nicht zu der Angabe hier.*

787 A second omen came to pass here in Mexico: quite of its own accord fire broke out in the house of the demon Uitzilopochtli, and flared greatly. No one had set fire to it; only of itself it burst into flames. It was called Itepeyoc,[4] at the place named Tlacatecan. When [the fire] appeared, already the [335] squared, wooden pillars were flaring; from within them[5] emerged the flames, the tongues of fire, the blaze [which] speedily ate all the house beams. Thereupon there was an outcry; [the priests] said: "O Mexicans, hasten here to put out [the fire! [415] Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they cast water upon it, when they sought to smother it, all the more did it flare. It could not be put out; it all burned.

[346] A third omen: a temple was struck by a thunder bolt. It was only a straw hut, a place called Tzonmulco, Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was raining not heavily; it only sprinkled, so that it was considered a bad omen. For, it was said, there was a mere[6] summer flash; nor did thunder sound.

A fourth omen: there was yet sun when a comet fell. It became three parts. It departed from where the sun set and traveled toward where he came forth. As if sprinkling live coals, [so] its tail went extended a great distance. Far did its tail reach. And when it was seen, great was the uproar; like [the din of] shell rattles [the outcry] was overspread.[7]

A fifth omen: the water [of the lake] foamed up. No wind stirred it up. It was as if the water swirled, [731] as if it boiled up with a cracking sound. Very far did it go, as it rose upward. And it reached the bases of the houses, and flooded them, and crumbled the houses.[8] This was the great lake which stretcheth about us here in Mexico.[9]

A sixth omen: often a woman was heard [as] she went weeping and crying out. Loudly did she call out at night. She walked about saying: "O my

Injc vnetl tetzavitl muchiuh, njcan mexico: çan monomavi in tlatlac, cuetlan, aiac ma quitlecavi, çan monoma tlecavi in ical diablo vitzilobuchtli: mitoaia, iteioc itocaiocan Tlacatecan: in nez ie tlatla in tlaquetzalli, in jtec, oalquiça in tlemjiaoatl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecueçalutl, cenca çan iciuhca conpalo in ixquich calquavitl: njman ie ic tlacaoaca, quitoa. Mexicae ma vallatotoca, tla cevilos, amaapilol: auh in jquac caatequjaia, in quiçevizneçuia, çan ie ilhujce mopitza, aocmo vel ceuh, vel tlatlac.

Injc etetl tetzavitl: vitecoc ipan tlatlatzin teucalli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzũmulco: iteupan in xiuhtecutli, amo tilaoaia, çan aoachquiiavia in juh tetzammachoc: iuh mjtoa in ça çan tonalhujtecoc, amono caquiztic in tlatlatzinjliztli.

Injc nauhtetl tetzavitl: oc vnca in tonatiuh in xivitl vetz ietetietia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalaquiampa; auh vmpa itztia in jquiçaiampa, iuhquj in tlexochtli pipixauhtiuh, veca mocujtlapiltitiuh, veca acitiuh in icujtlapil: auh in oittoc cẽca tlacaoacac, iuhquin oiovalli õmoman.

Injc macujltetl tetzavitl: poçon in atl, amo iehecatl quipopoçonalti, iuhquin momomoloca, iuhquin xixittemomoloca, cenca veca in ia, injc macoquetz: auh in calli tzitzintla cacic, auh capapachiuh, xixitin in calli: iehoatl in vei atl totlan manj njcan mexico.

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzavitl: mjecpa cioatl cacoia chocatiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioaltica cenca tzatzi; quitotinemj. Nonopilhoantzitzin, ie ic çan ie tonvi: in beloved sons, now we are about to go!"[10] Sometimes she said: "O my beloved sons, whither shall I take you?"

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[4] Probably Itepeyoc is meant for *iteioc*. See Chapter 19 of this Book; also *Memoriales en 3 columnas*, in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: *Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún—Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906), VII, p. 93; Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938) I, pp. 215, 229; and Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II—*The Ceremonies*, p. 161.

[5] Book VIII of the *Florentine Codex* has *itic* in a similar passage. In the *Real Palacio* MS it reads: *yitic ŷ calquiça*.

[6] *Ça qua* appears in *loc. cit.*

[7] Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII—Kings and Lords, p. 18, n. 5.

[8] In the *Real Palacio* MS, this passage reads: "*auh ŷ calli tzitzintla cacic auh ocq' papachiuh* [illegible]*.*"

[9] In *loc. cit.*, manj is followed by "[illegible]."

A seventh omen: at one time the fisher folk who hunted or snared with nets took captive an ashen hued bird like a crane. Then they went to show it to Moctezuma, [who was] in the Tlillan calmecatl.[11] It was past noon, and still daytime. On its head was as it were a mirror, round, circular, and as if pierced in the middle,[12] where were to be seen the heavens, the stars—the Fire Drill [constellation]. And Moctezuma took it as an omen of great evil when he saw the stars and the Fire Drill. And when he looked at the bird's head a second time, a little beyond[13] [the stars] he saw people who came as though massed, who came as conquerors, girt in war array. Deer bore them upon their backs. And then he summoned the soothsayers and the sages.[14] He said to them: "Do you not know what I have seen there, which was as if people came massed?" And when they would answer him, that which they looked at vanished. They could tell [him] nothing more.[15]

An eighth omen: often were discovered men of monstrous form, having two heads [but] only one body. They took them there to the Tlillan calmecatl, where Moctezuma beheld them; but when he looked at them, they then vanished.

quenmanjan qujtoa. Nonopilhoantzitzin, campa namechnoviquiliz. 787

Injc chicuntlamantli tetzavitl: ceppa tlatlamaia, manoçò tlamatlaviaia in atlaca; centetl cacique tototl nextic, iuhqujn tocujlcoiotl: njmã qujttitito in Motecuçoma, tlillan, calmecac: oenmotzcalo in tonatiuh, oc tlaca, iuhq'n tezcatl icpac manj, malacachtic, tevilacachtic, iuhqujn xapotticac: vmpa onnecia in ilhujcatl, in cicitlaltin, in mamalhoaztli. Auh in motecuçoma, cenca qujmotetzavi in jquac qujmjttac, cicitlaltin, yoã mamalhoaztli. Auh injc vppa ontlachix in jcpac tototl, ene qujttac, iuhquj on in ma acame, moquequetztivitze, tepeuhtivitze, moiaochichiuhtivitze, qujnmama mamaça. Auh njman qũjnnotz in tlaciuhque, in tlamatinjme: qujmjlhuj: Amo anqujmati in tlein onoconjttac, iuhqujn acame moquequetztivitze: auh ie qujnanqujlizquja, in conjttaque, opoliuh, aoc tle qujtoque. 203

Injc chicuetetl tetzavitl: mjecpa motenextiliaia, tlaca, tlacanetzolti, ontetzontecomeque, çan çe in intlac, vmpa qujmõvicaia in tlillan calmecac, vmpa qujmjttaia in motecuçoma, in oqujmjttac njmã poliuia. 732

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[10] Cf. *loc. cit.*, where [illegible] appears.

[11] In Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 10, this is explained: *"la llevaron á presencia de Moctheuzoma, el cual por entonces estaba en unos palacios que se llamaban Tlillancalmecatl (quiere decir, palacios teñidos de negro) y parece que como tenía otros palacios para alegrarse, ricamente edificados, este Tlillancalmecatl tenía para recogerse en el tiempo de adversidad y tristeza."*

[12] A *tlachialoni* (instrument for seeing), attribute of Tezcatlipoca and the fire god (Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 455, n. 4).

[13] In the *Real Palacio* MS, a similar phrase is written: *"[illegible], yuhq'n acame moquequetztivitze."* On moquequetztivitze, see Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885) — quequetza. In corresponding Spanish passage, Sahagún translates as "muchedumbre de gente junta" or "mucha gente junta."

[14] *Tlaciuhque*: see Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171. *Astrólogo* is favored as translation: *"Lo más claro, parece denotar funciones astronómico-religiosas."*

[15] In the *Real Palacio* MS, following *opoliuh*, we read: *"[illegible]"* (In the original, the abbreviation for -que resembles -qz; hence it is thus reproduced here.)

[p. 4 is blank]

648 Second Chapter, in which it is told how those arrived who first came by boat; which, they say, was only one boat.

And when were seen those who had reached the shore of the ocean, traveling by boat, then in person went Pinotl, the high steward of Cuetlaxtlan. He took with him other stewards [The second was] the steward of Mictlanquauhtla, Yaotzin. The third was the steward of Teociniocan, named Teociniacatl. The fourth was Cuitlalpitoc, who was only an underling[1] and a leader. The fifth was Tentlil,[2] likewise a leader.

Only these went to look at [the Spaniards]. They
[643 proceeded as if to sell [goods]; hence they went in disguise, to find out about them. They went to offer
292] them precious mantles, richly made, [which] could be only Moctezuma's mantles. No one else might wear them; they were his alone—his very own.

By boat they went in order to see them. As they did so, Pinotl said: "Let us not deceive the lord Moctezuma; for no longer would [we] live.[3] Let us indeed go, lest we die, in order that he may learn
643] the truth." ([For] Moctezuma[4] was his name as a prince, and Tlacatecutli [lord of men] was his title as ruler.)

Thereupon they went into the water. They entered the boats and followed the water['s current]. The water folk rowed them.

And when they had drawn near, where they could see the Spaniards, then, in their presence, [as if]
576] kissing the earth,[5] [they kissed] the prows of the boats. For they thought that Quetzalcoatl Topiltzin had come.

The Spaniards called to them. They said to them: "Who are you? Whence have you come? Where is your home?"

Injc vme capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn acico, in achto acalli oalla: in juh qujtoa ca çan centetl in acalli.

Auh in oittoque, in aqujque ovallaque ilhujca atenco, in acaltica ie onotinemj. Niman inoma ia in cuetlaxtecatl pjnotl, vei calpixquj, q'nvicac oc cequjntin calpixque: Mictlan, quauhtla calpixquj, Jaotzin. Injc ei, Teuciniocan calpixquj: itoca Teuciniacatl. Injc navi iehoatl in cujtlalpitoc çan tetlan nènquj tlaiacanquj. Injc macujlli Tentlil, çan no tlaiacanquj;

çan oc iehoantin in, in qujmjttato, çan iuhqujnma qujntlanamaqujltito, injc qujnnaoalittato, injc qujnnemjlito: qujnmacato tlaçotilmatli, tlaçotlanquj, çan vel itech itilma in Motecuçoma, in aoc ac oc çe qujquemj, çan vel ineiacavil, vel itonal:

acaltica in iaque injc qujmjttato, injc ĩuh qujchiuhque in: qujto in pinotzin. Ma tiqujztlacaviti in tlacatl Motecuçomatzin, ca iaocmo annenca ma çan tehoantin tivia, ma tonmjqujti, injc vel melaoac qujmocaqujtiz (in motecuçomatzin ipiltoca, auh Tlacatecutli in jtlatocatoca:

njman ie ic vi in atl itic ommacalaqujque, ommatoctique, qujntlanelhujque atlaca.

Auh in ointech ompachivito españoles: njman imjxpan ontlalquaque acaliacac, in momatque, ca iehoatl in Quetzalcoatl topiltzin, in oacico,

qujnoalnotzq̃ in españoles: qujmjlhujque. Acamjque campa oanvallaque, cana mochan?

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[1] Corresponding Spanish text: "criado de uno destos calpixques."

[2] Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, in *Décima tercia relación de la venida de los españoles y principio de la ley evangélica* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), p. 8, mentions Teuhtli, or Teuhtlile, *"gobernador de Moctheuzoma, que era de Cotastlan, o Cuetlaxtlan,"* who brought the news to the ruler when Cortés later (1519) landed.

[3] *Annenca* (you live): possibly *tinenca* (we live) is intended.

[4] Motecuçomatzin: reverential form of well-known Nahuatl names is generally not expressed in our translation, unless demanded by the context. With others we usually follow the Nahuatl text.

[5] Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II—*The Ceremonies*, p. 182. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 457, translates the phrase thus: *"assen die Erde vor ihnen vorn am Kanu."*

648 Then [the others] said: "We have come from Mexico."

[The Spaniards] answered them: "If in truth you are Mexicans, what is the name of the ruler of Mexico?"

They replied: "O our Lords, his name is Moctezuma."

431 Therefore they offered them all the various things
643 which they bore with them; costly capes such as
292 those which here are named: [the mantle] with the
648 sun design, the blue-knotted one, the one with the jar design, the one with eagle down, the one with the serpent mask, the one with the wind jewel, the one with turkey blood design, or the one with the whirlpool design, or the one with the smoking mirror.

648 When they had presented them all these various [capes, the Spaniards] gave them gifts in return. They offered them green and yellow necklaces,[6] which looked like amber.

And when they had taken [the gift], when they had seen it, much did they marvel.

And [the Spaniards] addressed them; they said to them: "Go [in peace]! First of all we go to Castile. We shall not tarry in proceeding to arrive in Mexico."

Thereupon [the Spaniards] departed. Thereupon also [the others] went; they turned back.

484 And when they had disembarked on dry land, then they went forthwith to Mexico. Day by day and night by night[7] they traveled, in order to come and notify Moctezuma, and be first[8] to arrive telling him the truth, and to inform him. They went carrying their goods, which they had received.

500 And upon this they declared to him: "O our Lord, my noble youth, mayest thou destroy us! For behold, this we have seen; behold, this we have done, there where thy grandfathers stand guard for thee, before the ocean. We went to see our lords the gods, in the midst of the water. All thy mantles we went to give them. And behold, they gave us of their noble goods. They said: 'If in truth ye have come from Mexico, behold, this ye shall give the ruler Moctezuma. Thus will he know us.'"

Çan njman qujtoque, ca vmpa in mexico tioallaque.

Qujnoalnanqujlique intla nelli anmexica tle itoca in tlatoanj mexico?

Qujm[illegible]jlhujque. Totecujovane ca Motecuçoma itoca.

Njmã ie ic qujnmaca in jxqujtlamantli qujtqujque tlaçotilmatli: iuhquj in, iehoatl in, in njcã motenecoa. Tonatiuhio xiuhtlalpilli: tecomaio, xaoalquauhio, coaxaiacaio, ecacozcaio, Tolecio, anoço amalacaio, Tezcapocio:

in jxqujtlamãtli in in qujmõmacaque, qujnoalcuepcaiotilique, qujnoalmacaque cozcatl, xoxoctic, coztic: iuhqujnma in apoçonalnenequj:

auh in oconcujque, in oqujttaque, cenca tlamaviçoque,

yoan qujnoalnaoatique: qujnoalilhujque: xivian oc ie tivi in castilla, amo tivecaoazq̃ tacitivi in mexico:

njmã ie ic vi, njman ie no ic vitze, oalmocuepque.

Auh in otlalhoacca qujçaco, njman oallamelauhque in Mexico, cecemjlhujtl, cecejoal in oalnenenque, injc qujnonotzaco in motecuçoma, in melaoac in jveliaca qujlhujco, qujcaqujtico: intlatquj oalmochiuhtia in oqujcujto.

Auh njman ie ic qujnonotza. Totecujoe, notelpotzine, ma xitechmotlatlatili ca incatquj otiqujttaque, incatquj oticchiuhque, ca in vmpa mitzonmotlapielilia in moculhoan, in teuatl ixco. Ca otiqujmjttato in totecujoan, in teteu in atl itic: in jxqujch motilmatzin otiqujnmacato: auh incatquj techmacaque intlatqujtzi. Qujtoque; intla nelli vmpa oanoallaque mexico, incatquj anqujmacazque in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ic techiximatiz:

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[6] Spanish text: *los españoles dieron a los indios cuentas de vidrio, unas verdes y otras amarillas.*" This was the result of the interview between the Indians and Juan de Grijalva, in the expedition of 1518.

[7] *Ibid.*: "[illegible] día, y [illegible] noche."

[8] Seler, op. cit., p. [illegible], has [illegible], translated "first of all."

So they told him all that [the Spaniards] had said to them in the midst of the water.

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have suffered fatigue; you have become exhausted. Rest. I have seen [all this] privily. No one shall speak anything [of this]; no one shall let a word [of this] fall; no one will say a word he should not; no one will spread news [of this]. Ye [shall keep it] only to yourselves."

much iuh qujlhujque, in juh qujmjlhujque atl itic.

Auh in Motecuçoma qujmjlhuj, oanqujhiovique, oanqujciauhque: ximocevicā, ca onontlachix in topco, petlacalco: aiac tle qujtoz, aiac tle contenqujxtiz, aiac tle conchitonjz, aiac tle concamacaoaz, aiac qujtenecoaz, çan amjtic.

[p. 8 is blank]

000 Third Chapter, where is told what Moctezuma commanded when he heard the account of those who saw the boat which first came.

Moctezuma thereupon commanded [Pinotl] of Cuetlaxtlan and the others, and said unto them: "Ye shall order that guard be kept everywhere on the shores [at the places] thus named: Nauhtlan, Toztlan, and Mictlanquauhtla—wheresoever [the strangers] would come to land."

Then the stewards departed. They gave the command that watch be kept.

644 And Moctezuma assembled his lords: the ruler's vicar Tlilpotonqui, the commanding general Quappiaztzin, the army commander Quetzalaztatzin, and the uitznauatlailotlac Ecatenpatiltzin.[1] He acquainted them with the news and he showed and discovered to them the necklaces which [the messengers] had brought him.

He said to them: "We have marveled at [this] fine, blue turquoise. It shall be well guarded. The keepers will protect it well. If they lose one [piece, their houses will be] our houses; [their children,] our children; [their women with child,] our women with child."[2]

008 And then the year made its round. When [the year] Thirteen Rabbit met [One Reed], when already it was about to end, at the time of the closing of [Thirteen][3] Rabbit, then [the Spaniards] came to arrive. Then once again were they seen.[4]

773 [202] And then [the stewards] hastened to inform Moctezuma. When he learned of it, then speedily he dispatched messengers. For thus he thought, and it was so regarded, that this was Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl who had arrived. For thus was it [held] in their hearts that indeed he would come—that he would come to land on and visit his domain.[5] For

Injc ei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlanaoati Motecuçoma in jquac oqujcac intlatol, in ichoantin in qujttaque acalli in achto valla.

In motecuçoma, njman ie ic q'nnaoatia in Cuetlaxtecatl, yoan in jxqujntin: qujmjlhuj. Xitlanaoaticã, ma tlapielo, in noviã atenco; injc mjtoa. Nauhtlan Toztlan, mjctlan quauhtla: in campa ie qujçaqujvi:

njmã ic iaque in calpixque, tlanaoatique injc tlapieloia.

Auh in motecuçoma: qujncentlali in jtecuioan, Cioacoatl, Tlilpotonquj, Tlacochcalcatl, Quappiaztzin, Ticociaoacatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Vitznaoatlailotlac, hecatenpatiltzin: qujncaqujti in tlatolli, yoan qujmjttiti, qujmjxpanti in qujoalcujque cozcatl:

qujmjlhuj. Ca oticmaviçoque in matlalteuxivitl, vel mopiaz, in tlatlatique vel qujpiazque: intla centetl qujchitoninque tocacal, topipilhoan, titcheoan.

Auh njman ie mocuepa in xivitl, ie imonamjcioc in matlactli omei tochtli: auh ie tlamjzneqaj, ie itzonqujzian in xivitl omei tochtli, in qujçaco, in ie no ceppa itoque.

Auh njman qujnonotztivetzico in Motecuçoma, in oqujcac, njman iciuhca tlaioa, in iuh qujma, in iuh moma, ca ichoatl in topiltzin Quetzalcoatl in oqujçaco: ca iuh catca iniollo in çan oallaz, in çan qujçaqujuh, qujoalmatiz in jpetl, in jcpal: ipampa ca vmitotia, in jquac ia. Auh in qujmjoa macujltin, in qujnamjqujtivi, in qujtlamamacativi: in teiacantia

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[1] Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), II, p. 330; also James Cooper Clark: *Codex Mendoza* (London: Waterlow & Sons, 1938), Vol. I, p. 96. For some titles, like uitznauatlailotlac, a satisfactory English equivalent is difficult to suggest.

[2] Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 480; also corresponding Spanish text: "*pagarlo an los que tienen cargo de guardar la recamara.*"

[3] Below omei, in the Aztec text, probably matlactli should be read.

[4] Arrival of Cortés in 1519.

[5] In Ángel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Otumba: [Imprenta Mayli], 1940), p. 185, the passage "*Ca yuh catca in iyollo in can huallaz, in can quiçaquiuh quihualmatiz in ipetl in icpal*" is thus translated: "*Era fijo su determinación, que había de venir, había de regresar, había de tornar a su trono y estrado.*"

773 verily he traveled there [to the east] when he went. And [Moctezuma] sent five to go to receive him and 648 to offer him gifts. The leader was Teuoa [such 565 was] his lordly name; his name as a nobleman was Yoalli ichan. The second was [the steward of] Tepoztlan; the third, of Tiçatlan; the fourth, of Ueuetlan; the fifth, of Ueicamecatlan.[4]

Teuoa, in jtecutoca, in jpiltoca Joalli ichan. Injc vme Tepuztecatl. Injc ei, tiçaoa. Inic navi vevetecatl. Injc macujlli Veicamecatl heca.

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4. Cf. [illegible], loc. cit., where these are given as [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] here is interpreted as [illegible].

Fourth Chapter. Here is told what Moctezuma then commanded[1] when he knew that the Spaniards had come back: the second time [that] they came, [they did so under] Don Hernando Cortés.

He said to them: "Come, O ye intrepid warriors; come! It is said that our lord hath at last arrived. Receive him. Listen sharply; lend your ears well to what he will say. You will bring back what is well heard. Behold wherewith you will arrive [before] our lord."

[First was] the array of Quetzalcoatl:[2] a serpent mask made of turquoise [mosaic];[3] a quetzal feather head fan;[4] a plaited neckband of precious green stone beads, in the midst of which lay a golden disc;[5] and a shield with [bands of] gold crossing each other,[6] or with [bands of] gold crossing [other bands of] sea shells, [with] spread quetzal feathers about the [lower] edge and with a quetzal feather flag; and a mirror upon the small of the back,[7] with quetzal feathers, and this mirror for the small of the back [was] like a turquoise shield, of turquoise mosaic — encrusted with turquoise, glued with turquoise; and green stone neck bands, on which were golden shells; and then the turquoise spear thrower, which had on it only turquoise with a sort of serpent's head; it had the head of a serpent;[8] and obsidian sandals.

Injc nauj capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlanaoati Motecuçoma, in oqujma in quenjn çan oalmocuepque Españoles, injc vppa oallaque, ichoatl in don hernando Cortes. 080

Qujmjlhuj tla xioalhujan moceloqujchtle, tla xioalhujan qujl iequene oqujçaco in totecujo tla xicnamjqujti, vel xitlacaqujcan, vel xinacaçocan, tlein qujtoz, vel nacaztli in anqujoalcujzque: izcatquj ic itech amacizque in totecujo,

ichoatl in jtlatquj Quetzalcoatl: coaxaiacatl, xiuhtica tlachioalli, quetzalapanecaiotl, chalchiuhcozcapetlatl nepantla mantiuh teucujtlacomalli, yoan centetl chimalli, teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj anoço teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj, quetzaltençouhquj, yoã quetzalpanio; yoan tezcacujtlapilli quetzallo: auh inin tezcacujtlapilli, iuhqujn xiuhchimallo tlaxiuhtzacutli, xiuhtica tlatzacutli, tlaxiuhçalolli, yoan chalchiuhcuecuextli, teucujtlacoiollotoc: njman ie iehoatl xioatlatl, çan motqujtica xivitl, iuhqujn coatzontecometica, coatzontecome, yoan itzcactli.

776
301
431
[46]

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[1] *Tlanaoati: tlanaoatl* is probably meant.

[2] Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 461, n. 1, says: "*In Wahrheit ist dies die Tracht Xiuhtecutlis.*"

[3] Cf. Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher und Co., 1904), II, p. 413, in which a figure corresponds to the description in the corresponding Spanish text: *una mascara labrada de mosayco de turquesas traya esta mascara labrada de las mismas piedras una culebra doblada y retorcida cuyo doblez era el pico de la nariz y lo retorcido yua hasta la frente era como lomo de la nariz luego se diuidia la cola de la cabeça y la cabeça con parte del cuerpo yua por sobre el vn ojo de manera que hazia ceja y la cola con parte del cuerpo yua por sobre el otro ojo y hazia otra ceja.*"

[4] Corresponding Spanish text: "*Estaua esta mascara encaxada en vna corona alta y grãde llena de plumas ricas largas y muy hermosas de manera que poniendose la corona sobre la cabeça se ponja la mascara en la cara.*"

[5] Cf. *Codex Vaticanus.* The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Lleuaua por joel vna medalla de oro redonda y ancha estaua asida con nueve sartales de piedras preciosas que echados al cuello cubrian los hombros y todo el pecho.*"

[6] Corresponding Spanish text: "*Lleuaua tambien vna rodela grande bordada de piedras preciosas con vnas vandas de oro que llegauan de arriba abaxo por toda ella: y otras vandas de perlas atrauesadas sobre las de oro de arriba abaxo por toda ella y los espacios que hazian estas vandas los quales eran como mallas de red yuan puestas vnas sapitos de oro traya esta rodela vnos rapazejos en lo baxo yua asida en la rodela vna vandera que salia desde la manija de la rodela hecha de plumas ricas.*"

[7] *Ibid.*: "*vna medalla grande hecha de obra de mosaico que la lleuaua atada y ceñida sobre los lomos.*"

[8] *Ibid.*: "*vn cetro como cetro de obispo todo labrado de obra de mosayco de turquesas y la buelta de arriba era vna cabeça de vna culebra rebuelta o enroscada.*"

431 776 292 301 The second [gift] which they went offering him was the array of Tezcatlipoca—the headpiece of feathers, with stars of gold;[9] and his golden shell earplugs;[10] and a necklace of sea shells; and the breast ornament decorated and fringed with small shells; and the sleeveless jacket painted with a design, with eyelets on its border, and fringed with feathers;[11] and a mantle with blue knots, which was called *tzitzilli*, grasped by the corners in order to tie it across the back;[12] also, over it, a [mosaic] [416] mirror[13] lying on the small of the back; and, [as] another thing, golden shells bound on the calves of the legs; and one [more] thing, white sandals.

[237] Third was the adornment of the lord of Tlalocan: the headdress of quetzal and heron feathers, replete with quetzal feathers. It had quetzal feathers and was blue-green; blue-green was overspread. And over it gold interspersed with shells. And green stone [were] his serpent-shaped ear plugs.[14] [There were] his sleeveless jacket, with a design of green [416] stone; his neck ornament, his plaited, green stone neck band with also a golden disc. Also he had a mirror at the small of his back, as hath been told; and likewise he had rattles and a cape with red rings on the border,[15] which was tied on; and shells of gold for his ankles; and his serpent staff was made of turquoise.

[237] Fourth, likewise the array of this same Quetzalcoatl was yet another thing: the pointed ocelot skin cap,[16] with pheasant[1/A] feathers; a very large green stone at the top, which was fixed at the tip; and round, turquoise [mosaic] ear plugs,[17] from which were hanging curved sea shells fashioned of gold; and a plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which there was likewise a golden disc; and a cape with red border which was tied on; likewise,

Injc vntlamantli qujmacato, iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Tezcatlipuca: hivitzoncalli, coztic teucujtlat..a cicitlallo, yoan itecujtlacoiolnacoch: yoan chipolcozcatl; elpan cozcatl, cilin ic tlatlatlamachilli, ic tenchaiaoac; yoan xicolli, çan tlacujlolli, in jtenjxio, hivitica tenpoçonquj: yoan centeti tilmatli, xiuhtlalpilli, motocaiotiaia, tzitzilli, qujoalnacazvitzana injc mocujtlalpia; no ipan mantiuh tezcacujtlapilli: yoã oc no centlamãtli, teucujtlacoiolli, itlanjtzco molpiaia, yoã centlamantli, iztac cactli.

Injc etlamantli, iehoatl in jnechichioal catca, Tlalocã tecutli: quetzalaztatzontli, çã moca quetzalli, motqujtica quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujvi, xoxoqujuhtimanj: auh in jpan teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj: yoan ichalchiuhcoanacoch: ixicol, tlachalchiuhicujlolli: in jcozquj chalchiuhcozcapetlatl no teucujtlacomallo, no tezcacujtlapile, in juhquj omjto, no tzitzile; tenchilnaoacaio in tilmatli injc molpia: yoan icxicoiolli teucujtlatl: yoan icoatopil, xiuhtica tlachiuhtli.

Injc nauhtlamantli çan ie no iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Quetzalcoatl, ie ne centlamantli: ocelocopilli, coxoliio; veitepul in chalchivitl yicpac ca ic quatzacutica; yoan xiuhnacochtli, malacachtic, itech pilcatica teucujtlaepcololli; yoan chalchiuhcozcapetlatl, çan no teucujtlacomalli in jnepantla mantia; yoan tilmatli tentlapallo injc molpia; çan no teucujtlacoiolli in jcxi itech monequja: yoan chimalli teucujtlatica itixapo, quetzaltençouhquj, no quetzalpanio:

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9. *Ibid.*: "vna caballera hecha de pluma rica que colgaua por la parte detras hasta cerca de la cintura estaua sembrada toda de estrellas de oro."

10. *Ibid.*: "vnas orejeras de oro que llamauā colgados vnos caracolitos de oro y sartales de caracolitos marinos blancos y hermosos destos sartales colgaua vn cuero que era como peto y llamauale coujdo [sic] de manera que cubria todo el pecho hasta la cintura, lleuaua este peto muchos caracolitos sembrados y colgados por todo él."

11. *Ibid.*: "vn cuete de tela blanca pintado la orilla de abaxo deste cuete yua bordado con plumas blancas tres listas por todo el rededor."

12. *Ibid.*: "vna manta rica la tela della era en azul claro y toda labrada encima de muchas labores de vn azul muy fino llamauase esta manta tzitzilli esta manta se ponja por la cintura atada por las esquinas al cuerpo."

13. *Ibid.*: "vna medalla de mosayco, atada al cuerpo sobre los lomos."

14. *Ibid.*: "vnas orejeras de chalchihuitl, anchas que tenja dentro vnas culebrinas de chalchihujtes."

15. *Tenchilnaoacaio* is probably meant in the Aztec column.

16. Corresponding Spanish text: *vna mitra de cuero de tigre, y colgaua* [sic] *de la mitra, sobre las espaldas, vna capilla grande, hecha de plumas de cuervo, lleuaua la mitra vn chalchihuitl grande y redondo, en la punta.*"

17. *Ibid.*: "de mosayco de turquesas."

1/A [There is no known genus of pheasant native in the New World. Perhaps the term is here used colloquially.—Analyst] golden shells tied upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[18] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

yoã hecaxonecujlli, quacoltic, iztac chalchivitl injc 431
citlallotoc yoan ipoçolcac. 776
301
292

Oca inqujtlamãtli in, in moteneoa teutlatqujtl in 431
intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tla- 301
mantli in qujtqujque in intenamjquja Teucujtlaqua-
tecciztli toztlapilollo, teucujtlacopilli, etc.

Niman ie ic tlatanatemalo, tlacacaxchichioalo. Auh 431
in omoteneuhque macujltin; njman ie ic qujnnaoatia
in Motecuçoma: qujmjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana 480
anvecauhti, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl:
xiqujlhujcan, ca otechalioa in motechiuhcauh Mote- 202
cuçoma: izcatquj mjtzalmomaqujlia, ca omaxitico
in jchãtzinco mexico:

Auh in oacito atenco, qujmópanavique, acaltica 505
qujmonvicaque in xicalanco: ie no ceppa vncan on-
coaq̃ acaltica qujnvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacal-
aquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatqujtl. Auh in
ontlaacaltemaloc, njman ie ic vi, onmatoctique, itech
onacito in jmacal, itech compachoque in jmacal.

njmã qujnoalilhujque. Ac amenan? campa an- 648
oallaque?

njman iuh qujnnanqujlique. Ca vmpa ticallaque in Mexico:

oc ceppa qujnoalilhujque. Acaçomo, aço çan vmpa anmotlamja, aço çan anqujpiquj, aço çã toca anmocacaiaoa.

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Niman ic qujoaliacatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopiltica, ic qujnoalitilinjque: njman no quioalquetzque ecacoztli.

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[18] Ibid.: "la qual rodela estava bordada con plumas ricas en lo baxo de la rodella [sic] salia una vanda de plumas ricas."

[19] Ibid.: "un baculo labrado de mosayco de turquesas y en la buelta de arriba puestas unas piedras ricas o perlas compuestas en lo alto de arriba."

[20] Literally, white green stone. The term chalchiuitl, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. Hence, our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

[21] Ibid.: "una mitra de oro hecha a manera de caracol marisco cõ unos rapacejos de plumas ricas que colgavan hasia las espaldas."

[22] Corresponding Spanish text: "una mitra llana."

[p. 14 is blank]

648 Fifth Chapter. Here is related what came to pass when the messengers of Moctezuma went aboard the boat of Don Hernando Cortés.

Thereupon they climbed up. They bore in their arms the array [of the gods]. When they had proceeded to go up into the boat, each in his turn disposed himself to kiss the earth before the Captain. [576] Having done so, they besought and said unto him:

"Let the god deign to hear: for his vassal, Moctezuma, who guardeth over Mexico for him, prayeth to him. For [so] he speaketh: 'The god hath suffered, he is weary [from travel].'"

Upon this, they adorned the Captain himself; they put on him the turquoise mosaic serpent mask; with it went the quetzal feather head fan; and with it went — in it they had set and with it went hanging — the green stone ear plugs in the form of serpents. And they clad him in the sleeveless jacket; they put the sleeveless jacket upon him. And they put the necklace upon him: the plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which lay the golden disc. With this they bound, on the small of his back, the mirror for the small of the back. Also with it they laid upon his back the cape named *tzitzilli*. And about [the calf of] his leg they placed the green stone band with the golden shells.[1] And they gave him, and placed upon his arm,[2] the shield with lines of gold and shells crossing, on whose [lower] rim went spread quetzal feathers and a quetzal feather flag. And before him they set the obsidian sandals.

And the other three sets of adornment, the array of the gods, they only laid in rows and placed in order before him.

And when this had been done, the Captain said to them: "Are these perchance all your gifts, your greetings?"

They answered: "This is all with which we came, O our lord."

Then the Captain commanded that they be bound. They fastened irons about their ankles and necks.

Injc macujlli capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein muchiuh, in jquac ititlanoan motecuçoma in vmpa calacque in jacalco don hernando Cortes.

Niman ie ic tleco, qujnanapalotivi in tlatqujtl: in otlecoto acalco ceceniaca ontlalquatimanj yixpan in capitan: Niman ie ic contlatlauhtia: qujlhujque:

Ma qujmocaqujlti in teutl: ca qujoalmotlatlauhtilia in jtechiuhcauh Motecuçoma in cōmotlapielilia mexico; ca conjtoa. Oqujmjhiovilti, oqujmociavilti in teutl:

njman ie ic qujchichioa in capitan vel iehoatl conaqujque in xiuhcoaxaiacatl, itech ietiuh in quetzalapanecaiotl, yoan itech icietiuh, itech aactiuh, itech pipilcatiuh chalchiuhcoanacochtli: yoan conaqujque xicolli, conxicoltique, yoan conconcatique in chalchiuhcozcapetlatl nepantla mantiuh in teucujtlacomalli, ic contzillancujtlalpique in tezcacujtlapilli, no ic contzinapanque in tilmatli in jtoca tzitzilli, yoan icxic contlalilique in chalchiuhcuecuextli teucujtlacoiollo: yoan conmacaque imac cōmanjlique chimalli teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj, yoan epnepanjuhcaio, quetzaltençouhtiuh quetzalpaniotiuh: yoan ixpā contemjlique itzcactli.

Auh in oc etlamantli nechichioalli, teutlatqujtl, çan ixpan contecpāque, convipanque:

auh in ie iuhquj, qujmjlhuj in capitā Cujx ie ixqujch in, in amotenamjquja, in amotetechacia?

qujnnanqujlique ca ie ixqujch injc tioalhujaque totecue.

Niman tlanaoati in capitan injc ilpiloque, tepoztli imjcxic qujntlalilique, yoan inquechtlan: in ie iuh-

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[1] Described earlier as a wrist ornament.

[2] The left arm, in the corresponding Spanish text.

648 This done, then they shot the great lombard gun. And the messengers then, verily, fainted and swooned. One by one, they fell to the deck; swaying, they went down, and knew no more. And the Spaniards lifted and raised them up so that they sat, and made them drink wine. Thereupon they served them food and made them eat, that they might catch their breath and revive.

And when this had come to pass, then the Captain said to them: "Hearken: I have known and heard it said that these Mexicans are very strong, exceeding brave, and great victors. Supposedly, one Mexican can pursue, overpower, conquer, and rout even ten, even twenty of his foes. And now I would satisfy my doubts. I would behold and test how strong and powerful you are."

Then he gave them leather shields, and iron swords, and iron lances.

"And this, early in the morning, at dawn, will come to pass: we shall fight and join the fray among ourselves, and try our strength among ourselves, [to see] who will fall."

They answered the Captain and said to him: "Let the lord hear: his vassal Moctezuma hath not thus commanded us [to act]. We have come to do only this one thing — to greet and salute [our lord]. It is not our charge [to do] what the lord requireth. For if we do so, Moctezuma would therefor be wroth, and might destroy us for it."[3]

Then the Captain said: "Nay, for it must be [as I say]. I wish to see and marvel [at your prowess]. For this is known in Castile; it is told that you are very powerful and valiant. Early in the morning shall ye eat. I also shall eat. [Then] verily shall you gird yourselves [for combat]."

quj njman ic qujtlazque in tomaoac tlequjquiztli: auh in titlanti in jquac in vel iolmjcque, yoan çoçotlaoaque, vehuetzque, nenecujliuhtivetzque, aocmo qujmatque: auh in españoles qujmeeuhq̃ qujmocoetitlalique, qujmonjitique vino: njmã ie ic qujntlamaca, qujntlaquaitique, ic imjhio qujcujque, ic oalihiocujque:

auh in ie iuhquj in, njman qujmjlhuj in capitan. Tla xiccaqujcan, onjcmã, onjccac, qujlmach in iehoantin mexica cenca chicaoaque, cenca tiacaoan, cenca maiavinj, intla ce mexicatl vel qujntocaz, vel qujntopeoaz, vel qujnpanaviz, vel qujnteputztiz in manel matlactin, in manel noço centecpantin in jiaovan. Auh in axcan noiollo pachiviznequj, namechittaznequj, namechiciecoznequj, in quenjn anchicaoaque, in quenjn antlapalivi:

njmã ic qujnoalmacac euechimalli, yoan tepuzmacquavitl, yoã tepuztopilli:

auh inin vel oc iovatzinco, tla[illegible]calpan in muchioaz, in titomaiztlacozque, titoneneuhcavizque, tinevivican tlamatizque, ac ie tlanj vetziz:

qujnanqujlique in Capitan: qujlhujque. Tla qujmocaqujtin tlacatl, achcamo ic technaoati in jtechiuhcauh in Motecuçoma; ca çan tiqujxcavico in tictociauhquechilico, in tictotlapalhujco, ca amo tonaoatil in qujmonequjltia tlacatl: auh intla iuh ticchioazque, cujx amo cenca ic qualaniz in Motecuçoma, amo ic techtlatlatiz.

Niman qujto in capitan ca amo ca ça mochioaz njqujttaznequj, njcmaviçoznequj ca in omachiztito in castillan qujl cenca anchicaoaque, antiiacaoan, ma oc vece ioac in xitlaquacan, oc no ioan in njtlaquaz, ma vel ximochichioacã.

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[3] Cf. [illegible], op. cit., p. [illegible]; see also p. 300 ([illegible]).

Sixth Chapter. Here is told how the messengers of Moctezuma returned here to Mexico and came to relate to Moctezuma that which they had seen.

Thereupon [Cortés] dismissed them, and let them descend to their boats. And when they had climbed down into the boats, they rowed with great force. Mightily did they ply their oars. Some paddled with their hands.

Fleeing with all their force, they came saying to one another: "O warriors, [use] all your strength! Row with haste, lest something here overtake us—lest something here befall us!"

Speedily they hastened to reach by water the place called Xicalanco; there they no more than quickly caught their breath, that once again they might with energy hasten on. Then they came to reach Tecpan tlayacac, whereupon they also hastened and hurried on, and soon came to reach Cuetlaxtlan. [From there] they likewise departed in haste, [having] in this place taken some rest.

And [those] of Cuetlaxtlan said to them: "Rest yet but a brief day; catch your breath!"

But they replied to them: "Nay, we may only go on swiftly. We must give the news to the lord, the ruler Moctezuma. We must tell him what we have seen, which is terrifying—the like of which hath never been seen. Had you, perchance, already, ere now, heard of it?"

Then they speedily departed from there and soon came to reach Mexico. It was deep night when they went reaching [the city]; they came in here quite by night.

And when this was happening, [Moctezuma] could enjoy no sleep, no food. Never could one speak to him. That which he did [was] only as if it were in vain. Ofttimes he sighed; he was spent, downcast. He felt delight in no savory morsel, joy, or pleasure.

Wherefore he said: "What will now become of us? Who, forsooth, standeth [in command]? Alas, until now, I. In great torment is my heart, as if run through with chili water, so that it burneth and

Injc chiquacen capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn ititlanoan Motecuçoma, oalmocuepque in njcan mexico qujlhujco in motecuçoma in qujttaque. 000

Niman ie ic qujncauh, qujmoaltemovique in jmacalco: auh in ovaltemoque acalco, njman ie ic tequjtlaneloa, onictemj in tlaneloa, cequjntin matlaneloa. 502

centlaquauh oalmotlaloa, qujmolhujtivitze, tiacaoane ixqujch amotlapal, xitequjtlanelocan, ma itla njcan taxti ma itla njcan topan muchiuh 000

iciuhca acitivetzico in atl iitic in jtocaiocan xicalanco, çan tequjtl vncan oalihiocujtiqujzq, ic ie no ceppa centlaquauh oaltotoca: njman acico in tecpan tlaiacac, njman ie no ic oalmocaltia, oalmotlaloa, acitivetzico in cuetlaxtlan, çan no oalqujztiqujzque, vncan ihiocujque. 484

Auh in cuetlaxtecatl qujmjlhuj ma oc cemjlhujtzintli ximocevicā ma oc amjhio xiccujcan.

Auh qujlhujque, ca amo ca çan ticiuhtivi tictononochililique in tlacatl tlatoanj Motecuçoma, tictolhujliquiuh in tlein otiqujttaque, in cenca temamauhti, in aic iuhquj omottac, cujx ie cuel ie teachto, toconcaquja:

njman iciuhca oalpeoaque, acitivetzico in mexico, çan ioaltica in acico, çan oalioalcalacque.

Auh in jquac in aoqujcochiz, aoqujtlaqual qujmatiz, aoc ac qujnotzaia, in çaço tlein qujchioaia, ça iuhquja nenhuetztia, iuhquja achica elcicivi, mociauhquetza, mociauhqujpa, aoc tle velic, aoc tle tepac, aoc tle teavialti ipan qujmattia, 000

ipampa in qujtoaia, tlein ie topan mochioaz, ac nel icac, ha iequene nehoatl, vel patzmjqui in noiollo, iuhqujnma chilatequjlo, vel tenoce chichinaca campa nel tonacac.

000 smarteth. Where, in truth, [may we turn], O our lord?"

Then [the messengers] commanded those who watched; they said to those at the head of the guard: "Even though he sleepeth, tell him: 'Lo, they whom thou hast sent over the water have come!'"

And when they went to tell him, then he replied: "I shall not hear it here; I shall hear it in the Coacalli. There let them go." And he commanded and 727 said: "Let two captives be covered with chalk."

782 And then the messengers went to the Coacalli,[1] [203] and also the noble Moctezuma himself.

Thereupon, before them, were slain the captives; they slashed open their breasts; they sprinkled the messengers with their blood. For this reason did they so do: that they had traveled into very perilous places; that they had gone to see — had looked into the faces and at the heads of, and had verily spoken to — the gods.

Nīman qujmõnaoatique in qujpia in jtzontlan tlapia qujmonjlhujque intla mocochitia xicmolhujlican ca ovallaque iñ tiqujnmotitlanj atl itic.

Auh in oconjlhujto: njman qujoalito. Amo njcan njccaquiz, vmpa njccaquiz in coacalco, ma vmpa vian, yoan oallanaoati: qujoalito: ma ontetiçavilo in mamalti.

Auh njman vmpa iaque in coacalco in titlanti: no ichoatl in motecuçomatzin,

njmã ie ic imjxpan mjcoa qujmeltetequj in mamalti, in jmezio ic qujmonatzelhujaia in titlanti (ipampa in juh qujchiuhque in, ca cenca ovican in ovia ca oqujmjttato, imjxco imjcpac otlachiato, vel oqujnnotzque in teteu.

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[1] Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VIII — Kings and Lords, p. 44.

Seventh Chapter, in which is related the account by which the messengers informed Moctezuma of the boat which they had gone to see.

And after this, they then informed Moctezuma; they told him how they had gone in astonishment; and they showed him what their food was like.

And when he had heard how the messengers reported, he was exceeding fearful and terror-struck. And much did he marvel at their food.

Yet more was he frightened when he heard how [the shot] discharged, at [the Spaniards'] command, from the gun; how it resounded like thunder when it went off. Indeed, it overpowered one; it deafened our ears. And when it discharged, something like a round pellet came forth from within. Fire went scattered forth; sparks showered forth. And its smoke smelled very foul; it had a fetid odor which, verily, wounded the head. And when [the pellet] struck [a] mountain, [it was] as if it fell apart and crumbled. And when it struck a tree, it splintered, seeming to vanish as if someone blew it away.

All iron was their war array. They clothed themselves in iron. They covered their heads with iron. Iron were their swords. Iron were their crossbows. Iron were their shields. Iron were their lances.

And their deer, which bore them upon their backs, were as high as roof-tops.

And they covered all parts of their bodies. Alone to be seen were their faces—very white. They had eyes like chalk;[1] they had yellow hair, although the hair of some was black. Long were their beards, and also yellow; they were yellow-bearded. [The hair of the Negroes] was kinky and curly.

And their food was like lords' food[2]—very large, and white; not heavy like [tortillas, but] like the stalks of maize plants—as if of ground maize stalks; it tasted a little sweet, a little honeyed—it tasted honeyed,[3] it tasted sweet.

And their dogs were very large. They had ears doubled over; great, hanging jowls; blazing eyes—

Ic chicome capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlatolli injc qujnonotzato in Motecuçoma, in titlanti in qujttato acalli.

Auh in ic iuhquj, njman ic ic qujnonotza in Motecuçoma iuh qujlhujque in juhquj oqujmaviçoto, yoan qujttitique in juhquj intlaqual.

Auh in oqujcac in juh tlanonotzque in titlanti cenca momauhti, mjçavi, yoan cenca qujmaviço in intlaqual:

oc cenca ichoatl in qujiolmjcti in oqujcac in quenjn vetzi in jnnaoatil in tlequjquiztli, iuhq'n tlatlatzinj ic caqujzti in jquac vetzi, vel teçotlauh, motzatzaqua in tonacaz. Auh in jquac vetzi iuhquijn telolotli oalquiça yitic, tlepipixauhtiuh, chichitocatiuh: auh in jpocio cenca hiiac, xoquijac, vel tetzonvitec: auh in qujmotla tepetl iuhq'n xitinj, xixitica: auh in quavitl qujmotlatetextia, iuhquijn atetlachialti, iuhquijn aca conilpitza:

çan muchi tepuztli in iniautlatquj, tepuztli in cōmaquja, tepuztli in conaquja intzontecon, tepuztli in inmaquauh, tepuztli in intlavitol, tepuztli in inchimal, tepuztli in intopil,

auh in qujnmama in inmaçaoa, iuhquijn tlapantli ic quaquauhtique.

yoan novian qujmqujlivi in innacaio, çanjo neci in inxaiac, cenca iztac, ixtetexcaltique, tzoncoztique, tel cequj tliltic in intzon, viiac in intentzon no coztic, tēzōcoztique, cocototztique ocolochtic:

auh in intlaqual iuhquijn tlacatlaqualli, veiapal, iztac, amo etic iuhquijn tlaçolli, iuhquijn ovaquavitl, iuhquijn ovaquauhtextli injc aviac, achi tzopelic, achi necuctic nenectictiquaqua, motzopelicaqua:

auh in jnjtzcujnoan veveipopol, nacazcuecuelpachtique, tenvivilaxpopol, ixtletlectique, ixtletlexochtique,

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1. In this passage, the Spanish text refers to ojos garços and cabellos rojos, and the presence of algunos negros.
2. Tlacatlaqualli: possibly "fasting food" (cf. Siméon, op. cit.).
3. Nenectictiquaqua: possibly the text should read necuctictiquaqua.

flaming yellow, fiery yellow eyes; thin flanks, with ribs showing; and gaunt stomachs. [They were] very tall and fierce. They went about panting, with tongues hanging. They were spotted like ocelots; they had spots.

And when Moctezuma heard this, he was filled with a great dread, as if he were swooning. His soul was sickened, his heart was anguished.

ixcocoztique, ixtlecocoztique, xillanvicoltique, xillāoacaltique, xillancapitztique vel quaquauhtique, amo tlaca manj, neneciuhtinemj, nenenepilotinemj, ocelocujcujltique, mocujcujloque.

Auh in oiuh qujcac in Motecuçoma, cenca momauhti iuhqujn iolmjc, moioltequjpacho, moiollacoma.

Eighth Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma sent the magicians,[1] wizards,[2] and soothsayers[3] so that they might do something to the Spaniards.

Then Moctezuma sent emissaries. He dispatched various evil men — soothsayers and magicians. And he sent the constables, hardy [warriors], chieftains, to purvey [to the Spaniards] all they might need of food: turkeys, eggs, white tortillas, and all they might ask for as well as whatsoever might satisfy their hearts' desire. They were to watch them well. He sent captives, so that they might be prepared if perchance [the Spaniards] would drink their blood. And just so did the messengers do.

And when [the Spaniards] beheld this, their stomachs turned. They spat; they blinked; they shut their eyes and shook their heads. For the food, which they had sprinkled and spattered with blood, sickened and revolted them. For strongly did it reek of blood.

And thus had Moctezuma provided, for he thought them gods; he took them for gods; he paid them reverence as gods. For they were called and named "gods come from the heavens." And the black ones were said to be black gods.

Later they ate white tortillas, grains of maize, eggs, turkeys, and all manner of fruit — sapotas,[4] red sapotas,[5] yellow sapotas,[6] black sapotas,[7] sweet pota-

Inic chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn iehoatl motecuçoma, qujmjoa in nanaoalti in tlatlacatecolo, in tetlachivianjme, inic itla impan qujchioazque in Españoles. 006

Niman iquac tlaioa in Motecuçoma in qujmjoa mochcoantin in atlaca, in tlaciuhque, in nanaoalti: yoan qujmjoa in achcacauhti, chicaoaque, in tiacaoā in jpan tlatozque in ixqujch intech monequjz in qualonj in totoli in totoltetl, in iztac tlaxcalli: yoā in tlein qujtlanjzque, yoan inic ça oc vel pachiviz in iniollo, vel qujmjttazque, qujmjoa in mamalti, ic monemachti, cujx qujzque in jmezço: auh iuh qujchiuhque in titlanti. 618 [791] 262 [727]

Auh in jquac oqujttaque: cenca motlaeltique, chichicha, ixtetenmotzoloa, ihicopi, motzontecōvivixoa: auh in tlaqualli eztica catzelhujque, queezvique, cenca invic eoac, qujntlaelti: iehica ca cenca xoqujiac in eztli. 000

Auh inic iuh qujchiuh motecuçoma, ca qujnteuma, teteu impan qujnma qujnteutocac: ic notzaloque, ic tocaiotiloque, teteu ilhujcac vitze: auh in tlíltique teucacatzacti mjtoque,

qujn iehoatl qujquaque iztac tlaxcalli, tlatzincujtl, totoltetl, totoli, auh in ie ixqujch xochiqualli, quauhtzaputl, teçontzaputl, atzatzaputl, totolcujtlatzaputl, 262

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[1] Garibay, in "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 170, refers to the "'*duplicación de la persona*' o el '*desdoblamiento*'" in regard to *nanaualli*. The term may be related etymologically to *naui* (4) — a quadruple personality, an attribute with *nanaualli*, [illegible] (to hide or dissimulate, as in magic tricks), or Maya-Quiché *na*, *naa*, *naua* (wisdom, science, magic). Garibay favors the second possibility ([illegible]).

[2] *Tlatlacatecolo*: concerning the term *tlacatecolotl*, Garibay refers to an *arte de hombre pernicioso*, and quotes Sahagún's phrase in Vol. III (Robredo ed.), p. 33 — "*tiene pacto con el demonio*" ([illegible]) (*ibid.*, p. 174). In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, I, 4 (1944), p. 308, he refers to *tlacatecolotl* as "brujo," "mago," "*hombre que perjudica a la gente, hombre pernicioso*"; "*prestigiador y procurador de muerte.*" There is a discussion of the etymology of the term.

[3] *Tlaciuhque*: we have previously used the term "soothsayer." In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), Garibay, noting that Molina translates the term as *astrólogo*, states: "*La voz sola, parece denotar fenómenos meteorológicos*," and notes the relationship of the term to *teciuhtlazqui*, one who prevents hail from falling. He cites *La población del valle de Teotihuacán*, II, p. 404.

[4] *Quauhtzapotl*: anona (*Annona cherimolia* Mill.) in Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942), I, p. 274; same as *tzapotl* (generic name), according to Francisco J. Santamaría: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (Méjico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), III, p. 314 — *Lucuma mammosa*, *L. bonplandii*, *Achras mammosa*, *A. sapota*. Cf. also Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 225.

[5] *Teçontzapotl*: mamey (*Lucuma mammosa* Gaertn.), zapote colorado (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-316). In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Siméon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, 1880), p. 733, n. 2, this explanation appears: "*Les premiers Espagnols d'Amérique confondirent* [with various sapotas] *le fruit beaucoup plus gros du* [illegible] *ou lucuma mammosa, de la famille des sapotes, qu'ils appellent aujourd'hui mamey. C'est probablement le même fruit que les Aztèques connaissaient sous le nom de* [illegible]." See also Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 225.

[6] *Atzatzapotl*: probably the same as *atzapotl*. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 267-268, this is *Lucuma salicifolia* Kunth. It is also identified by Santamaría, *loc. cit.*, as *Lucuma salicifolia* — zapote [illegible] or zapotillo. In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 334, it is identified as zapote amarillo — [illegible] (rudimentos?). The *atzatzapotl* (yellow sapota) is now generally known as *zapote borracho* (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

[7] *Totolcuitlatzapotl*: zapote prieto (*Diospyros ebenaster* Retz. — ebenáceas), in Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

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262 toes,[8] manihot,[9] white[10] and yellow[11] sweet potatoes, colored sweet potatoes, *jícamas*,[12] plums,[13] *jobos*,[14] guavas,[15] *guajilotes*,[16] avocados,[17] carob fruit,[18] *tejocotes*,[19] American cherries,[20] tuna cactus fruit,[21] mulberries,[22] white[23], yellow,[24] and whitish-red cactus fruit,[25] *pitahayas*,[26] water *pitahayas*.[27] And the food for the deer [was] *pipillo*[28] and *tlachicaztli*.

754 648 And it is told why Moctezuma sent magicians and soothsayers — that they might behold what kind [of men] they were, and that perchance they might bewitch and cast a spell over them. Perhaps they might blow them away, or enchant them. Mayhap they might cast something at them, or they might, with some words of the Evil One, utter an incantation over them, so that they might sicken and die, or else because of it turn back.

But these, when they performed their charge and commission upon the Spaniards, were at once powerless. Nothing could they do.

Then they quickly returned and came to tell Moctezuma what they were like and how strong they were: "We cannot contend against them; we are as nothing."

camutli, quauhcamutli, poxcauhcamutli xochicamutli, tlapalcamutli, xicama, maçaxocotl, atoiaxocotl, xalxocotl, in quauhxilotl, aoacatl, oaxi, texocotl, in capoli, in nochtli, in amacapuli, iztac nochtli, coznochtli, tlatocnochtli, tzaponochtli, anochtli: auh in maçatlaqualli, pipillo, tlachicaztli:

Auh quil injc quimjoa Motecuçoma in naoaalti, in tlaciuhque, injc quimjttazque in quenamjque in aço vel qujntlacateculovizque, qujntlachivizque, in aço vel qujmjpitzazque qujnxoxazque in aço oc itla ic qujnmotlazque, in aço itla tlacateculotlatolli, ic qujntlanonochilizque, injc aço cocolizcujzque, mjmjqujzque, in anoce ic ilotizque.

Auh in ichoantin in qujchiuhque in intequjuh, in innaoatil in intechpa españoles, çan njmã avelitque, atle vel qujchiuhque:

niman ic oalmocuepțivetzque qujnonotzaco in Motecuçoma injc iuhque, injc chicaoaque, amo titenamjcoan, iuhqujn atitleme:

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[8] *Camotli*: sweet potato, *batata* (*Ipomoea batatas* Poir, in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521; *I. batatas* Lam., in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 336).

[9] *Quauhcamotli*: *guacamote* or *camote* (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl.—*euforbiáceas*) in *ibid.*, p. 334; *yuca* in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 36, and in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 524 (*M. esculenta* Crantz).

[10] *Poxcauhcamotli*: probably sweet potato of white skin and interior, Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521).

[11] *Xochicamotli*: reddish or yellow sweet potato (*loc. cit.*).

[12] *Xicama* (*jícama*): in *ibid.*, II, p. 522, *Pachyrhizus angulatus* Rich.; *P. palmatilobus* H. B. K. in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

[13] *Maçaxocotl*: plum—*Spondias* sp. (*anacardiáceas*) (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 334).

[14] *Atoyaxocotl*: *Spondias lutea* L. (*anacardiáceas loc. cit.*). *Jobo* (*Spondias mombin*, or *S. lutea*, or *purpurea*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 153, 155. See also Sahagún (Jourdanet and Siméon tr.), p. 734, n. 6.

[15] *Xalxocotl*: *Psidium pomiferum* L. (*mirtáceas*), in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 335; guava.

[16] *Quauhxilotl* (*guajilote*): *Parmentiera edulis* D.C., in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 451; *Bombax palmeri* S. Wats, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[17] *Aoacatl* (*ahuacate*, *avocado*): *Laurus persea* in Sahagún (Jourdanet and Siméon tr.), p. 734, n. 1.

[18] *Oaxin* (*guaje*): *Leucaena esculenta* Benth. (*leguminosas*), in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 335.

[19] *Texocotl* (*tejocote*): *Crataegus mexicana* Moc. & Ses., in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 150.

[20] *Capoli* (*cereza indígena*): *Prunus capuli* Cav. (*rosáceas*), in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 334.

[21] *Nochtli*: *Nopal opuntia*, in *op. cit.*, p. 335.

[22] *Amacapuli*: *moral indio* (*Chlorophora tinctoria* Gaud.; var. [illegible]), in *loc. cit.* Black mulberry or blackberry in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 88.

[23] *Iztac nochtli*: white cactus fruit (*Opuntia* sp.), in Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 934, 936; *tuna blanca* (cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 230).

[24] *Coznochtli*: *coznochnopalli* (*Opuntia pseudo-tuna* Salm. Dyjck; *cactáceas*), in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 333. *Tuna amarilla*?—cf. Santamaría, *loc. cit.* *Opuntia* sp. of yellow fruit in Hernández, *loc. cit.*

[25] *Tlatocnochtli*: "*tuna blanca tirando a bermejo*"; *Opuntia* sp., in *loc. cit.*

[26] *Tzaponochtli* (*tzaponochtle*, *pitahaya*—Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 314).

[27] *Anochtli*: possibly *tuna de agua*, *pitahaya del agua* (*Pereskiopsis aquosa* Brit & Rose); cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 229.

[28] *Pipillo*: possibly *Asclepias curassavica* Ph.; cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485.

Then Moctezuma commanded sternly, charged, enjoined, and ordered on pain of death, that the stewards and all the noblemen and constables should see to it that [the Spaniards] be cared for in all that they might need.

And when [the Spaniards] had crossed over to the land, when finally they came, when already they moved, proceeded, and marched ahead, they were well cared for; they were honored. They passed from hand to hand as they took their way. Much was done for them.

niman ic tetlaquauhnaoati in Motecuçoma, vel 448 qujncocolti, vel qujntenjzti, qujnmjqujznaoati in calpixque: auh in jxqujch in tecutli, in achcauhtli in qujttazque, in qujmocujtlavizque in jxqujch intech monequjz.

Auh in ovallalhoacaqujzque iequene ic vitze: in ie oalolinjzque, in ie oalolinj, in ie oalotlatoca, cenca necujtlaviloque, mavizmachoque, çan temac in oallatiaque, in oalotlatocaque, cenca inca nechioaloc.

[p. 24 is blank]

Ninth Chapter. Here it is told how Moctezuma wept; and the Mexicans wept when they learned that the Spaniards were very powerful.

And Moctezuma became very fearful; he felt foreboding and was frightened and terrified, and foresaw evil for the city.

And everyone was sore afraid. There were fear, terror, dread, and apprehension. There were discussion, the forming of single groups, and hastening by. All wept—wept much; they shed tears for the people. They went with heads hanging and countenances fallen. All greeted one another tearfully and spoke to others with tears. They gave them comfort and consoled themselves. They stroked the heads of [their young]; the hair of the small boys was smoothed down. Fathers said: "Woe, my sons! How may you withstand what hath befallen you and what will come to pass?" And mothers said: "My sons, how may you withstand what you will marvel at and what is now to befall us?"

And it was told, discovered, shown, set forth, announced, and given as assurance to Moctezuma that a woman of our people here, was bringing them here and interpreted [for them]. Her name [was] Marina; Teticpac [was] her home. There at the coast they had first come upon and taken her.[1]

202 And at that time they began no longer to place themselves at [the Spaniards'] feet; the messengers simply went fleeing—they who had overseen the various things of which everywhere they stood in need.

And at this same time, [the Spaniards] came inquiring about Moctezuma: "What sort [of man is he]? Perchance a youth? Perchance mature? Or already old? Perhaps he is already advanced in years, already approaching a ripe age?—An old man, already white-haired?" And they replied to the gods, the Spaniards: "He is a mature man, not fat but rather slender; spare—small and thin."

Injc chicunavi capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn chocac Motecuçomatzin, yoan in chocaque mexica, in jquac oqujmatque, ca cenca chicaoaque in Españoles.

Auh in motecuçoma cenca tlatenma, motenma, momauhti, mjçavi, qujtlatenmachili in altepetl,

yoan in ie ixqujch tlacatl, cenca momauhtique, nemauhtiloc neiçaviloc, tlatẽmachoc, netenmachoc, nenonotzalo, nececentlalilo, neohololo, nechoqujlilo, nechochoqujlilo, techoqujlilo, ça tlaquechpilivi, ça tlaquechvi, nechoqujztlapalolo, techoqujztlapalolo, teellaquaoalo, neellaquaoalo, tepepetlalo, pepetlalo in pipiltzitzinti: in tetaoan qujtoa: Veh nopilhoãtzitzine, quen vel ameoantin in o amopan muchiuh, in tlein ie muchioaz: auh in tenanoan qujtoa. Nonopilhoantzitzin, que ço uel amehoanti in anqujmaviçozque in tlein ie topan muchioaz:

yoan ilhujloc ixpantiloc, machtiloc, nonotzaloc, caqujtiloc, yiollo itlan tlaliloc in Motecuçoma. ce cioatl njcan titlaca in qujnoalhujcac in oalnaoatlatotia: itoca Malintzi teticpac ichan, in vmpa atenco, achto canaco.

Auh njman iquac peuh: in aocmo onnecxitlalilo, in ça mocujtlacueptinemj in titlanti, in jpan ontlatoa in jxqujtlamantli, in jxqujcan icac in intech monequjx.

Auh çan njmã no iquac in qujtemotivitze Motecuçoma: quenamj cujx telpuchtli, cujx yiolloco oqujchtli, cujx ie veve, cujx ie tlachicalhuja, cujx ie veve tlamati, cujx ie veve tlacatl, cujx ie quaiztac? Auh qujnnanqujliaia in teteu in Españoles: ca yiolloco oqujchtli, amo tomaoac, çan pitzactõtli, çan pipitzactontli, çan cujllotic, cujllotcatontli.

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[1] It appears well established that the birthplace of la Malinche (Marina, Malintzin) was Painala, a town now disappeared, which was south of Coatzacoalcos. It is shown in the map in Francisco Javier Clavijero's *Historia Antigua de México* (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

And when Moctezuma had heard that earnestly he was inquired and asked about, [that] the gods urgently wished to behold him before their eyes, he felt torment and anguish in his heart. He would flee; he wished to escape. Flight was [his] desire; departure was [his] wish. He would hide himself; he would vanish; he would take refuge and conceal himself from the gods. And he had in his heart and thought to himself, imagined and reflected to himself, and conceived the idea, consulted within himself, spoke and asked within himself: Would he enter some cave? And much did he consult with those to whom he [confided] his heart, in whom he laid trust. He spoke of it to a number of them. They said: "There are [some] who know the road to Mictlan, and Tonatiuh ichan, and to Tlalocan, and to Cincalco,[2] that one may rest. [Thou must determine] what place is thy need."

And now he wished and desired [to go] there to Cincalco. Well was it made known; it was so noised abroad.

But this he could not do. He could not hide nor conceal himself. He was weak; was no longer fired; was incapable. Unverified and unfulfilled were the words of the soothsayers, through which they had changed his mind, provoked him, turned his heart, and taken vengeance upon him by seeming to be wise in knowing [the way] to the places named.

[Moctezuma] could only await [the Spaniards]; only steel his heart and tax himself. He quieted and stilled his heart, and resigned himself to whatsoever he might behold and marvel at.

Auh in juh qujcaquja in Motecuçoma, in cenca temolo, in cenca matataco cenca ixco tlachiaznequj in teteu iuhqujn patzmjquja yiollo, iolpatzmjquja, cholozquja, cholozznequja, mocholtiznequja, mocholtizquja, motlatizquja, motlatiznequja, qujnnetlatilizquja, qujnneinailiznequja in teteu. Auh qujmoiollotica, qujmoiollotiaia, qujmopictica, qujmopictiaia, qujiocuxca, qujiocoaia; ic moiolnonotzaca, ic moiolnonotzaia yitic: qujmolhujca, yitic qujmolhujaia cana oztoc calaqujz, auh cēca intech moiollaliaia intech vel catca yiollo, intech tlaquauhtlamatia: cequjntin qujmomachiztiaia, in qujtoaia. Ca vmmati in mjctlan, yoan tonatiuh ichan, yoan tlalocā yoan cincalco inje vmpatiz in campa ie vel motlanequjliz.

Auh ie vel vmpa motlanequjliaia, motlanequjli in cincalco: vel iuh machoc, vel iuh tepan motecac.

Auh inin amo velit, amo vel motlati, amo vel mjnax, aoc ievat, aoc tle tic, aoc ievatix, aoc ie onneltic, aoc tle vel muchiuh in intlatol tlaciuhque, inje qujiolcuepca, inic qujiollapanca. inje qujiolmalacachoca, injc qujtlacuepilica, in qujmomachitocaca in ommati, in vmpa omoteneuh;

çan qujnmochielti, çan moiollotechiuh, moiollochichili, qujoalcentlamj, qujoalcentlanqua in jiollo, qujmocenmacac in çaço tlein qujttaz, qujmaviçoz.

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[2] Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 474) identifies Mictlan with the north, Tonatiuhichan with the east, Tlalocan with the south, and Cincalco with the west. The corresponding Spanish text, however, says concerning Cincalco: "*una cueva a [illegible] de chapultepec donde ay [illegible] que ay [illegible] en [illegible] lugares se podia [illegible] magestad [illegible] magestad el lugar que quisiere que alla le llevaremos y alli se consolara sin recibir ninguno daño. Motecuçoma se inclino a yrse a la cueva de cincalco: y asi se publico por toda la tierra pero no uvo efecto este negocio ninguna cosa de lo que dixeron los nigromanticos se pudo verificar y assi Motecuçoma procuro de esforçarse y de esperar a todo lo que venjese, y de ponerse a todo peligro.*"

Tenth Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards slowly left the coast land and marched ahead; and how Moctezuma left the great palace and went there to his princely home.

Then Moctezuma abandoned his old house, the great palace, and stayed at and lived in, and moved to and visited his princely home.

And when, at last, [the Spaniards] came—when already they had come and were making their way forward—first they had come upon and seized a man from Cempoalla, named Tlacochcalcatl, at the time that they had been going to find the lands and the cities. He also was an interpreter, and set them on their road, put them on their course, showed them the way, led them along, and acted as their guide.

And when they came to reach [the region of] Tecoac,[1] on land of the people of Tlaxcalla, there dwelt their [subject] Otomí. And the Otomí met them in battle; with shields they moved against them. And the Otomí, the men of Tecoac, [the Spaniards] completely overwhelmed. Verily, they destroyed them. They speared them; they were pierced with spears. They turned their guns on them; they shot them with iron bolts; they shot them with crossbows. Not just few but great numbers of them they destroyed.[2]

And when [the region of] Tecoac had perished, those of Tlaxcalla—when they heard and knew of it, when they had been told—could not control their alarm; they swooned with fear. Great was the dread which overcame them. Terror seized them.

Then they gathered themselves together and took counsel. There was a lords' council; there was a rulers' council. They considered the news.

They said: "How shall we act? Shall we, perchance, move against them? For, verily, a great warrior and brave leader is the Otomí. [The Spaniards] thought them as nothing; considered them as nil. In no time—in but the flutter of an eyelid—

Injc matlactli Capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn 080 Españoles çan jvian, oallalhoaccaqujnque, oallotlatocatiaque yoã in quenjn Motecuçoma qujcauh in vei tecpan, vmpa ia in jpilchan.

Niman qujoallalcavi in jvevechan in vei tecpan 342 vncan oallamattia, vncan oallama, qujoalma, qujoaltocac in jpilchan in ichoatl Motecuçoma.

Auh in iequene vitze, in ie vitze, in ie ovalmolinjque: ce tlacatl, cempoaltecatl, itoca tlacochcalcatl, 648 no achto canaco; in jquac qujttato tlalli, in altepetl, no oalnaoatlatotia, q'noaloquechilitia, qujnoalotlaxilitia, qujnoallaixtlatitia, qujnoaliacan, qujnoaliacantia. [191]

Auh in oacico Tecoac: in tlalpan tlaxcalteca vncan onoque imotonoan. Auh in otomj iautica qujnnamjcque, chimaltica qujnnamjcque: auh in otomj in Tecoaca vel qujmjxtlatique, vel ixpoliuhque, qujnxixilque, texixilioac, qujntlequjqujzvique, qujntepuzmjvique, qujntlavitolhujque, amo çan quexqujchtin, vel ixachintin, in jxpoliuhque.

Auh in ontlalpoliuh tecoac, in tlaxcalteca in oconcacque in ocõmatque, in onjlhujloto, cenca mauhcaçonecque, mocuetlaxoque, cenca in tlania in maviztli, mavizcujque:

njmã mocentlalique mononotzque, motecuiononotzque, motlatocanonotzque, qujmoottitique in tlatolli: 635 648

qujtoque. Quen toiezque, cujx tiqujnnamjqujzque: ca vei oqujchtli vei tiacauh in otomjtl, atle ipan oqujttac, atle ipan oconjttac, çan inqujch cavitontli in çan ixpeioctli in oconpopolo macoalli. Auh in axcan ma çan itlan toncalaqujcã, ma çan tictoc-

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[1] Tecoac: today Molina, in the northern part of the State of Tlaxcala, near the border of the State of Puebla (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

[2] This battle lasted 14 or 15 days, according to Fray Francisco de Aguilar, in *Relación breve de la conquista de Nueva España* (México: José Porrua e Hijos, Sucs., 1954), pp. 33sqq. Reference to important contemporary Spanish sources, like Aguilar, Díaz, Cervantes, Cortés, and others, is necessary for gauging passage of time and other points often not in the *Florentine Codex* and other Aztec accounts.

635 648 they destroyed the vassals. So now let us submit to them; let us befriend them; let us make friends of the foe. [For] the common folk suffer."

648 And thereupon the rulers of Tlaxcalla went to meet them. They took them food—birds, eggs, white tortillas, fresh tortillas.

They said to them: "Ye have labored, O our lords."

[These] answered them: "Where is your home? Whence come ye?"

They said: "We are people of Tlaxcalla. You have tired yourselves. You have come to and reached the land [which is] your poor home, Quauhtlaxcalla."

(But in ancient times it was named Texcalla, and the common folk were called Texcallans.)[3]

njuhtican, ma çan titocnjuhtlacan, motolinja in maceoalli.

Auh njma ie ic vi in qujnamjqujzque in tlaxcalteca tlatoque: qujtqujque in tlaqualli, in totoli, in totoltetl in jztac tlaxcalli, in chipaoac tlaxcalli: qujmjlhujque. Oanqujmjhioviltique totecujoane:

qujnoalnanqujlique. Cana mochan? Campa oanoallaque?

Conjtoque. Titlaxcalteca, oanqujmociaviltique, oanmaxitico, otlaltech anmaxitico in amochantzinco quauhtlaxcalla

(auh in ie vecauh moteneoaia Texcalla, in macehoalti mjtoaia, texcalteca.)

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[3] The Spanish text says: *"La ciudad q agora se llama tlaxcalla, ante que viniessen los españoles se llamaua Texcalla."*
Tlaxcalla did not exist as a compact urban center before the Conquest except for the four *barrios*—Quiahuiztlan, Ocotelulco, Tepeticpac, and Tizatlan—which made up the Republic of Tlaxcalla (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

Eleventh Chapter. Here it is told how the Spaniards came to and reached Tlaxcalla, which was [then] called Texcalla.[1]

They proceeded to guide them, to take and lead them, and thus leave and quarter them in their palace. They made much of them. They offered them whatsoever they needed, and cared for them. And then they offered them their maidens.

Then [the Spaniards] asked them: "Where is Mexico? What manner of place is it? Is it still distant?"

[The Tlaxcallans] answered them: "It is not far distant; it can be reached in perhaps but three days. It is a very good place. And [the Mexicans] are very powerful, very brave warriors, victors who go conquering everywhere."

And those of Tlaxcalla in times past had contended and risen in rage and hatred against the Cholullans, whom they detested and abhorred and with whom they would have no commerce. Wherefore they spoke evil of them, so that [the Spaniards] might attack them by treachery.

They said to them: "They are very wicked, and they are our foes. Those of Cholulla are as strong as the Mexicans. They are friends of the Mexicans."

When the Spaniards had heard this, they then went to Cholulla. Those of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla accompanied them. They went in war array. When they arrived, thereupon there were shouting and calling out that all the noblemen should come forth — the rulers, leaders, and chieftains, and the common folk. The temple courtyard[2] was filled. And when all had assembled, then [the Spaniards and their allies] closed each of the entrances, wheresoever one entered.

Thereupon the people were fallen upon, slain, and beaten. Those of Cholulla had been caught unaware. With neither arrows nor shields did they meet the Spaniards. Just so, they were slain without warning. They were killed by pure treachery; they died unaware. For in truth the Tlaxcallans had incited [the Spaniards].[3]

Injc matlactli oce capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Españoles acico in vncã tlaxcalla: in mjtoa Texcalla.

648

Qujmõiacanato, qujnoalhujcaque, qujnoaliacantiaque, injc qujmoncaoato, injc qujncalaqujto in intecpanchan, cenca qujnmavizmatque, qujnmacaque in intech monequj inca mochiuhq̃ yoan njman qujnmacaque imjchpuchoan:

njman qujntlatlanjque canjn Mexico, quenamjcan? oc veca?

Qujnanqujlique, ca aocmo veca, aço ça eilhujtl axioaloz, cenca qualcã, yoã cenca chicaoaque, cenca tiacaoã, tepeoanjme, novian tepeuhtinemj.

Auh in tlaxcalteca, ieppa mochalanjticatca, moqualancaitzticatca, motlavelitzticatca, mococoliticatca, aimelmottaia, acã vel monepanoaia in chololteca: Ipampa in qujntenanaoatilique, injc qujnpoiomjctizque:

qujmjlhujque. Ca cenca tlaveliloc, ca toiaouh in chololtecatl iuhqujn mexicatl ic chicaoac, ca içnjuh in mexicatl:

in oiuh qujcacque in españoles: njmã ic vmpa iaque in chololla, qujnvicaque in tlaxcalteca yoan in cempoalteca, moiauchichiuhtiaque: in oacito njmã ie ic tenotzalo, tetzatzililo, ixqujchtin oallazque in pipilti, in tlatoque, in teiacana, in tiacaoan, yoan maceoalti, neteuitoaltemaloc. Auh in ie ocenqujzque ixqujchtin njman qujoaltzatzacque in calacoaiã, in izqujcampa calacoa,

njmã ie ic texixilioa, temjctilo, tevivitecco, atle iniollo ipan catca in Chololtecatl: amo mjtica amo chimaltica qujnnamjcq̃ in Españoles, çan iuhqujn ichtacamjctiloque, çan tlaixpopoiomjctilti çan tlachtacamjctilti, ca nel çan qujntenanaoatilique in tlaxcalteca.

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[1] Corresponding Spanish text: "que entonce se llamava texcalla."

[2] This was at the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, according to the corresponding Spanish text.

[3] Cf., however, Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin: Annales (Rémi Siméon, ed.; Paris: Maisonneuve et Ch. Leclerc, 1889); the Septième Relation (p. 187) notes: "cenca miecpantin quimictique in Chololtêca yn iquac quinamiqueque capitan general Hernando Cortes" — they slew very many Cholulans when they met the Captain-general, Hernando Cortés, in battle.

202 And all which came to pass, all [this] news they laid before, told, and related to Moctezuma. And 007 the messengers all came, all set forth, took flight. It was no longer a time of calm to listen — for the message to be heard. For all the common folk went in uproar; there were frequent disorders. It was as if the earth quaked, as if the earth quivered — as if the surface [of the land] circled in tumult. There was terror.

And when death had come to Cholulla, then [the Spaniards] started forth in order to come to Mexico. Marshaled together, in a concourse, they came stirring up the dust. Their iron lances, their iron halberds glistened [from afar], and their iron swords moved in a wavy line like a water [course]. Their iron shirts and iron head gear jingled. And what some wore was all iron; they came turned into iron, gleaming. Hence they caused astonishment; thereby they aroused great terror. Because of it they were regarded with much dread — they were greatly feared.

And their dogs came ahead. They went before them. At the vanguard they came, in the lead. They came at their head. They came panting, foam dropping [from their mouths].

Auh in ixqujch muchioaia, muchi qujoalmacaia, qujoalilhujaia, qujoalcaqujtiaia in tlatolli in Motecuçoma. Auh in titlanti, ixqujch oalaci, ixqujch vmpeoa, çan mocujtlacueptinemj, aoc quenman cactoc in qujcaquj, in caqujtilo tlatolli: auh in ie ixqujch tlacatl maceoalli, ça mâcomantinemj, ça achcan mocomonja, ça iuhqujn tlallolinj, ça iuhqujn tlalli xoxoqujvi, ça iuhqujn tlaixmalacachivi, mavizcujoac.

Auh iñ ommjcoac chololan: njmã oalpeuhque in ie ic vitze Mexico, ololiuhtivitze, tepeuhtivitze, teuhtli, qujquetztivitze, in intepuztopil, in intzinacantopil iuhqujn tlapepetlaca: auh in intepuzmaquauh, iuhqujn atl monecujloa, iuhqujn tlacacalaca in intepuzvipil, in intepuzquacalala. Auh cequjntin vel much tepuztli motqujtivitze, tetepuztin muchiuhtivitze, pepetlacativitze: ic cenca valmomavizçotitiaque, ic cenca oalmotlamauhtilitiaque: ic cenca mauhcaittoia, ic cenca imacaxoia.

Auh in jmjtzcujnoan iacattivitze, qujniacantivitze iniacac icativitze, iniacac onotivitze, hiicicativitze, intenqualac pipilcativitz.

Twelfth Chapter. Here is told how Moctezuma sent a lord, a great nobleman, and still many other noblemen, in order that they go to meet the Spaniards; and that with which each gave salutations as they greeted the Captain between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl.

And Moctezuma thereupon sent and charged the noblemen, whom Tziuacpopocatzin led, and many others besides of his henchmen, to go to meet [Cortés] between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl, there in Quauhtechcac. They laid before them golden streamers, quetzal feather streamers, and golden necklaces.

And when they had given them the gift, they appeared to smile, to rejoice exceedingly, and to take great pleasure. Like monkeys they seized upon the gold. It was as if then they were satisfied, sated, and gladdened. For in truth they thirsted mightily for gold; they stuffed themselves with it, and starved and lusted for it like pigs.

And they went about moving the golden streamer back and forth, and showed it to one another, all the while babbling; what they said was gibberish.

And when they saw Tziuacpopocatzin, they said: "Is this one perchance Moctezuma?" They spoke to those who came with them, their spies, those of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla. Thus in secret they questioned them. [These] said: "Not this one, O our Lords." This one was Tziuacpopocatzin, who was appearing in place of Moctezuma.

[The Spaniards] said to him: "Art thou perchance Moctezuma?" He replied: "I am your henchman; I am Moctezuma."

And these said to him: "Go thou hence. Why dost thou lie to us? Whom dost thou take us to be? Thou canst not fool us; thou canst not mock us. Thou canst not make us stupid, nor flatter us, nor become our eyes, nor trick us, nor misdirect our gaze, nor turn us back, nor destroy us, nor dazzle us, nor cast mud into our eyes, nor place a muddy hand over our faces. Thou art not he. Now Moctezuma cannot hide from us. He cannot take refuge. Where can he go? [Is he] perchance a bird that he can fly? Or can he set out on his way under the earth? Is

Injc matlactli omume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in 648
quenjn Motecuçoma, qujoa ce tlacatl vei pilli: yoã 728
oc cequjntin mjequjntin pipilti in qujnnamjqujto Españoles: yoan in tlein ic tlatlapaloque, injc qujtlapaloque Capitan, in jtzalan iztactepetl, yoan popocatepetl.

Auh in Motecuçoma: njmã ie ic qujmonjoa, qujmonjxquetza in pipilti, qujniacana in tzioacpopocatzin,
yoan oc ceq'ntin cenca mjequjntin itechiuhcaoan [431
cõnamjqujto, intzalan in popocatepetl, yoan iztacte-
petl, vncan in quauhtechcac, qujmõmacaque teucuj- 301]
tlapanjtl, quetzalpanjtl, yoã teucujtlacozcatl.

Auh in oqujmõmacaque iuhqujn yixvetzca, cenca papaquj, ahavia, iuhqujn cooçomatzitzquja in teucujtlatl, iuhqujn vncan motlatlalia, iuhqujn iiztaia, iuhq'n cecelia yiollo: ca nel iehoatl in cenca camjquj, qujpoçaoa, qujteucivi, qujpitzonequj in teucujtlatl.

Auh in teucujtlapanjtl qujhiiauhtivitze, qujtlatlavitzotivitze, qujmoottititivitze, iuhqujn tlapopoloca, in tlein qujmolhuja in popolochcopa.

Auh in jquac oqujttaque Tzioacpopocatzin: qujtoque. Cujx iee hin in Motecuçoma: Qujmjlhujque, in intlan mantivitze in intlachixcaoan, in tlaxcalteca, cempoalteca, injc qujmõichtacatlatlanjque: conjtoque ca amo ie iehoatl totecujioane. Inin tzioacpopocatzin, qujmjxiptlatica in Motecuçomatzin:

qujlhujque. Cujx ie te in tiMotecuçoma? Conjto: Ca nehoatl in namotechiuhcauh in njMotecuçoma.

Auh njmã qujlhujque. Nepa xiauh, tleica in titechiztlacavia, ac titechmati, amo vel titechiztlacaviz, amo vel toca timocaiaoaz, amo vel titechquamanaz, amo vel titechixmamatiloz, amo vel titechichchioaz, amo vel titechixcuepaz, amo vel titechixpatiliz, amo vel titechtlacuepiliz, amo vel titechixpopoloz, amo vel titechixmjmjctiz, amo vel titechixçoqujviz, amo vel titechixçoqujmatocaz? amo tehoatl ca vnca in Motecuçoma, amo vel technetlatiliz, amo vel mjnaiaz? campa iaz? cujx tototl, cujx patlanjz? cuj noço tlallan qujquetzaz yiovi, cujx cana ca tepetl

648 728 there somewhere a mountain pierced by a hole that he may enter? For we shall see him; for we shall not fail to look into his face. We shall hear his words; we shall listen to that [which cometh] from his lips."

Thus they only despised and belittled him. Thus came only to nothing still another of their welcomes and greetings.

Then they hurried straight and took the road direct [to Moctezuma].

coionquj yitic calaquiz ca tiquittazque, ca amo maca izco titlachiezque, ticcaquizque in jtlatol, itenco titlacaquizque,

ic çan contelchiuhque, atle ipan conjttaque ic çan onnenpoliuh in oc çequj in intenamjc, in intetlapalol:

ic njmã quijoalmelauhtivetzque in melaoac vtli.

Thirteenth Chapter. Here is related how Moctezuma sent still other soothsayers in order that they might cast a spell over the Spaniards,[1] and what befell them on the way.

And another company of messengers, who were soothsayers and magicians, and fire priests, also went and made their way to contend with them. But they could do nothing. They could not cast a spell over them; no more could they contend against and exert power over them. No longer could they succeed.

For a drunkard came along the way. They went up against him and stopped, stunned. They beheld him as one from Chalco, for so was he arrayed. He was dressed as a man from Chalco; he acted as a Chalcan. Like one besotted, he bore himself and acted like one who is drunk. With eight grass ropes was he bound about the chest.[2] He accosted them, having come ahead of the outposts of the Spaniards.[3]

And he rose up against them and said: "What do you come to do here again? What do you now wish? What would Moctezuma yet wish to do? Hath he perchance now come to his senses? Is he now filled with a great fear? For he hath committed a fault. He hath abandoned the common folk; he hath destroyed men. People have been struck upon the head; they have been bound [in wrappings for the dead]. He hath laughed at and deceived them!"

And when they had thus seen this, when they had heard his words, to no purpose did they give him attention, praying humbly to him and quickly setting up his abode — his earth pyramid and his straw bed. But he would not then look at it; vain was its erection. To no purpose had they made the earth pyramid.

Just as if they had plunged him into his rage, he presently chid and abused them, and spoke harshly.

Injc matlactli omei capitulo vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma: qujmjoa oc cequjntin tetlachivianjme injc qujtlachiviazquja Espanoles yoan in tlein vtlica impan muchiuh. 648 791 787

Auh ie no centlamantique titlanti: ichoan in tlaciuhq̃ in nanaoalti, yoan tletlenamacaque, no ic iaca, no ic iaque in tenamjqujzque: auh aoccã vel mochiuhque, aoccan vel teittaque, aocmo tlaipantilique, aocmo teipantilique, aocmo onieoatque:

çan ie ce tlaoanquj vtlica ica ommotzotzonato, qujmonamjctito, ica onmjxtilquetzato: injc qujttaq̃ iuhqujn chalcatl ic omochichiuh, mochalcachichiuh, mochalcanenequj: iuhqujn tlaoãquj, mjvincanenequj, motlaoãcanenequj: chicuei çacamecatl ic melilpi, qujmjxnamjctivitz hiiacac icativitz in Españoles.

Auh çan inca iecoac: qujmjlhuj. tle noma amaxtivitze in njcã? tlen oc anqujnequj? tle noma qujchioaznequj in Motecuçoma? cujx qujn omozcali? cujx qujn axcan ie momauhticapul? ca otlatlaco, ca oconcavili in maceoalli, ca otlacaixpolo teca omoquavitec, ca teca omoqujmjlo, ca teca omavilti, ca teca omocacaiauh.

Auh in oiuh qujttaque in, in oiuh qujcacque itlatol, oc nen itlan aquj, in qujmocnotlatlauhtilia, qujtlalilitivetzque ichiel itlalmomoz, yoan içacapepech, çan njmã aocmo vmpa qujoalittac: tel çan nenpanca in ommotlalica, in vncan oc nen qujtlalmomuztica:

çan ie iuhqujn icamac ommaqujque, ie vncan qujmaoa, qujntequjaia, iuhqujn motititzatlatoa:

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[1] [illegible]

[2] See Pl. 27.

[3] The corresponding Spanish text reads: "traya ceñido a los pechos ocho cabestros o sogas hechas de heno como de esparto, y venia de hacia donde venian los españoles."

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648 He said to them:

787 "Why do you vainly stand here? No longer will
791 there be a Mexico; [it is gone] forever. Go hence; it no more existeth. Turn about; look at what befalleth Mexico — what thus already cometh to pass!"

Then they looked there; they quickly turned there to see. They beheld that already all the temples, the tribal temples, the priests' dwellings,[4] and all the houses in Mexico burned; and [it looked] as if already there were fighting.

And when the soothsayers had seen this, it was as if they had lost heart; they could say nothing; it was as if they had been made to swallow something.

They said: "This is not for us to see; it must needs be that Moctezuma see what we have seen. For this is no common being; this is the youth Tezcatlipoca."

000 Then he vanished, and they saw him no more.

And so the messengers went no further to encounter [the Spaniards]; they no longer pressed on toward them. From there the soothsayers and fire priests turned back and came to tell Moctezuma. There they and those who earlier had gone [with] Tziuacpopocatzin saw one another.

And when these messengers had come to arrive, just so they related to Moctezuma how this had come to pass and how they had beheld it. Moctezuma, when he heard it, only bowed his head; he stood with his head lowered. He hung his head: he stood with his head downcast. He did not then speak, but only remained full of woe for a long time as if beside himself.

Finally he thus answered them, and said: "What can we do? What can be done? For we are finished; we have taken the medicine. Shall we perhaps climb a mountain? Should we perhaps flee? For we are Mexicans. Shall we in truth perhaps enslave the Mexican domain? Unlucky[5] are the poor old men and old women! And the children, who have no understanding — where may they be taken? What can be done? Where, in truth, can one go? For now we have taken the medicine. Come what may, in whatsoever way it may befall, we shall marvel at it!"

qujmjlhuj.

Tle çã nen in njcan amjcativitze aoqujc iez in Mexico, ie ic cẽmãia, nepa xivia, aocmo vncã, tlaxommocuepacan, tlaxontlachiacan in Mexico, tlein ie mochioa: in juh ie mochioa.

Nimã ic oallachixque, oallachixtivetzque, in qujoalitta ie tlatlã in jxqujch teucalli, in calpulli, in calmecatl, yoan in jxqujch mexico calli, yoan iuhqujn ma ie cuel necaliva.

Auh in oiuh qujttaque in tlaciuhque, iuhqujn canjn ia, iniollo, aocmo onnaoatque, iuhqujn aca itla qujntololti:

qujtoque inin ca amo totechmonequja in tiqujttazque, ca ie itech monequja qujttaz in Motecuçoma, in otiqujttaque: ca amo çan aca, ca iehoatl in telpuchtli Tezcatlipuca:

njman ic poliuh, aocmo qujttaque.

Auh in titlanti aocmo tenamjqujto, aocmo tevic qujçato, çã vncã oalilotque in tlaciuhque, in tletlenamacaque, qujnonotzaco in Motecuçoma: oalnepanjxtiaque in achto iaque in Tzioacpopocatzin.

Auh in oacico iehoantin titlantin, iuhquj povilique in Motecuçoma in juh mochiuh in juh qujttaque. In motecuçoma, in oiuh qujcac; ça oaltolo ça oaltolotimotlali, oalquechpilo, oalquechpilotimotlali, aocmo oalnaoat, çan ontlanauhtimotlali, vecauhtica in iuhquj ontlapolo,

ça ixqujch injc qujnoalnanqujli: qujnoalilhuj. Quennel mocechtle ca ie ic toncate, ca ie otictomacaque, cujx cacah tepetl tictlecavizque: auh cujx tícholozque ca timexica, cujx nellaontimaliviz in mexicaiutl, motolinja in jcnoveve, in jcnoilama: auh in piltzintli, in aia qujmati, campa neviqujlilozque, quẽnel, quẽçannel nen, quẽnoçonel, campa nel, ca ie tictomacaticate in çaço tlein, in çaço quenamj in ticmaviçozque.

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[4] *Calpulli, calmecatl* — tribal temple and priests' dwelling are translations of these terms previously used in this work, for which there is precedent. See Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit., passim.* Refer also to Arturo Monzón *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), *passim* (*calpulli*) and p. 77 (*calmécatl*); or Alfonso Caso: "Instituciones indígenas precortesianas," Memoria del Instituto Nacional Indigenista, VI (1954), pp. 20sqq. (*calpulli*), 26 (*calmécatl*).

[5] From *motolinja* on, the passage is translated in Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 520.

Fourteenth Chapter, in which it is told how Moctezuma ordered closed the road, so that the Spaniards might not come to arrive here in Mexico.

And Moctezuma had vainly commanded that they obstruct the road; that with maguey they plant the highway which led direct here to Mexico; and that there they be shown the road which led to and entered Texcoco.

And when they had blocked the way with rows of maguey, [the Spaniards] then learned of it and saw that they had only closed the way. They thought nothing of it. They took [the plants] up; they kicked each one far; they hurled them out. Far off they cast the maguey plants.

They slept at Amaquemecan.[1] Then they went on, direct, along the road and came to reach Cuitlauac. There also they slept.

Assembling from all parts the rulers who held sway over the people of the floating gardens — Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, Mizquic — they spoke to them just as they had spoken to the rulers of Chalco. And these rulers of the dwellers in the floating gardens then also submitted.

And when the Spaniards had been satisfied, then they moved on and settled themselves at Itztapalapan. Thereupon they called for and sought the rulers known as the Four Lords — [those of] Itztapalapan, Mexicatzinco, Colhuacan, and Uitzilopochco. In the same manner they spoke to and addressed them (as hath been told). And just so they peacefully and quietly submitted to the Spaniards.

And Moctezuma commanded that none make war upon them nor contend against and meet them in battle. He ordered only that they not neglect [the Spaniards' needs]; that great care be taken of them.

And upon this, here in Mexico, all lay quiet; [the people] did not go out or venture forth. Mothers did not let [children] go out. The roads were empty, and clear; the roads were clean, as in early morning.

Injc matlactli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma tlanaoati in motzatzaquaz vtli injc amo vel aciqujvi Españoles, in njcã mexico. 726

Auh in Motecuçoma, oc nen tlanaoatica in qujtzatzaquazque in vtli, in vchpantli, qujmetecaque in oallamelauhticac njcã Mexico: auh ie vmpa qujmontlachieltiaia, in jpan vtli iaticac, calacticac tetzcucu.

Auh in vncan qujmetepãtzacca: njman qujmatque, qujttaque in çan oqujtzatzacque, atle ipan conjttaque, caanque, veca conxoxopeuhque, quioalchichitotzque, veca ica ommamaiauhque in metl: 000

vncã cochque amaquemecan, njmã ie ic vitze, tlamelauhtivitze, qujmelauhtivitze in vtli, acico in cuitlaoac, çan oc no vncan cochque: 648

in oqujncentlalique tlatoque, in jzqujcan tlatocachioa injc chinãpaneca in Suchmjlco in cujtlaoac, in mjzqujc: çan ie no ivi in qujmjlhujque, in juh qujmjlhujque chalcatlatoque. Auh in ichoanti chinanpaneca tlatoque, çan njmã no intlan oncalacque.

Auh in oiniollo vmpachiuh, in Españoles: njman ic oalolinque ommotlalico in jtztapalapan: njman ie no ic qujnnotza, qujnnenotzallanj in tlatoque: Nauhtecutli mjtoa. In jtztapalapan, Mexicatzinco, culhoacan, Vitzilobuchco: çã ie no ie in qujmjlhujque, injc qujntlatoltique (in oiuh mjto). Auh çan no ivian, iocuxca intlan oncalacque in Españoles.

Auh in Motecuçomatzin, amo tlanaoatiaia injc aca qujnjauchioaz, injc aca iauiotica qujnnamjqujz, aiac iauiotica qujnnamjqujz, çan tlanaoatiaia, injc amo çan tlacomachoaque, ça cenca inca nechioaloz.

Auh in jquac y, in njcan Mexico, ça iuhqujn cactoc, aocac oalqujça, aocac oalqujztica. In tenanhoan aocmo oaltequjxtitlanj, ça chichipaoaticac in vtli, ichpelpul icac, ça ichpeliuhticac in vtli, ça iuhqujn tlal-

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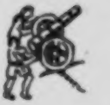
[1] Details are to be found in Chimalpahin, op. cit., pp. 187-188.

648 None crossed others' paths — they did not dare; they retired to their houses only to know that there was woe. The common folk said: "Pay no heed. Let [the hour] be accursed. What will you do? For now we shall die; we shall perish. Yea, now we await our death."

chipecpan, aocac ixtlapal iauh, aocac tlaxtlapaloa, necacaltemaloc, ça incavilo in tlaocuialo: quitoaia in macevalli. Ma iuh tie, ma motelchioa, tle oc iez in anquichioa, ca ie timjquizq̃, ca ie tipolivizque, ca ie toconchixticate in tomjquiz.



Fifteenth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards[1] departed from Itztapalapan in order to reach Mexico.

And thereupon they set out in order now to enter here into Mexico. Wherefore they prepared and arrayed themselves for war. They girt themselves and bound on their battle dress. Then the horse[men] were, each one, disposed, arranged in rows, placed in order and put in line.

And the four horse[men] who came guiding, preceding, and moving ahead of the others and occupying the vanguard, were the leaders.[2] They kept turning; they moved back and forth repeatedly; they went on, facing people. They looked hither and thither; they went on to scan every side and to look everywhere, peering among groups of houses. They proceeded examining everything. They kept looking up at the housetops.

Likewise the dogs — their dogs — ran ahead, quickly smelling and sniffing at things and ever panting.

By himself came as guide, going as leader — going ahead alone — one who bore the standard upon his shoulders. He proceeded, waving it back and forth, making it circle, and tossing it from side to side. It would stiffen and raise itself like a man; it would smartly curve, fly up in turning, and billow.[3]

Following him passed the bearers of iron swords. Bared were their iron swords, which flashed brightly. They each bore and carried upon their shoulders their shields — wooden and leather shields.

The second group, the second file to come, was of horses carrying upon their backs many [soldiers] in their cotton armor cuirasses, each with leather shield and iron lance; and all with their iron swords hanging down the flanks of the horses. All had rattles; they had clatterers; they galloped along jingling, and the rattles clacked and resounded. The horses — the

Injc caxtolli capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Espanoles, vmpa vallevaque in Itztapalapan injc acico mexico. 600

Auh njman ie ic oalolinj in ie ic oalcalaquizque njcan Mexico; njman ie ic mocecencaoa, moiauchichioa; moolpia, vel quijilpia in iniautlatquj: njman ie ichoantin in in cavallos: njman ie ic motetecpana, mocuecuetilia, movivipana, mocecepantilia.

Auh nauhteme in cavallos in iacattivitze, in attovitze, in teiacantivitze, in teiacaconotivitze, in te in teiacana; mocuecueptivi, ommocuecueptivi, onteixnamjctivi, havic tlachixtivi, nanacaztlachixtivitze, noviampa onjtztivi in cacaltzalan, tlaixtotocativitze, onacotlachixtivi in tlapanco:

no ichoan in chichime in jmjtzcujnoan, iacattivitze, tlatlanecutivitze, neneciuhtivitze, nênenecciuhtivitze;

yioca icativitz, iacattivitz, icel icativitz in quachpanjtl qujquechpanoa, qujtlatlavitzotivitz, qujmamalacachotivitz, havic qujtletlaztivitz, mochichicauhtivitz, moqujchquetztivitz, vel mocolotilia, mocoloquetztivitz, mocolonectivitz;

qujoaltoqujlitivi tepuzmaquaveque, pepetlauhtivitz, in intepuzmaquauh, pepepetlacativitz, qujquequechpanoa, qujquequechpanotivitze, inchichimal, quauhchimalli, eoachimalli.

Injc vntlamantitivitze, injc vmpantitivitze cavallos temamativitze, imjichcavipil, imeoachimal intetepuztopil, yoan intetepuzmaquauh inquecpâ pipilcativitz in cavalloeme, cocoiolloque, coioleque, coiolletivitze inhquin xaxamaca in coiolli, tlaxamacan coiolli in cavallosti; in mamaça pipitzca, tlapipitzca, cenca mjtonja, iuhqujn atl intechpa temo: auh in

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[1] Españoles: the tilde is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

[2] In ic in teiacana: in ic appears at the bottom of the folio (21v), and is probably repeated by error.

[3] Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 487, whose version varies somewhat from the foregoing.

deer — neighed and whinnied. They sweated profusely; it was as if water fell from them. And flecks of foam fell in drops upon the ground; it dripped like soap [suds]. And as they advanced, great was the clangor and pounding of their hooves; the feet beat as when one casteth stones, and then they pierced holes and made depressions in the ground where they raised their feet. Separately [these] appeared, as they stamped with their hind and forelegs.

The third group was of those who bore iron crossbows. In their arms rested the crossbows. They came wielding and repeatedly testing them, sighting along them. And some bore them upon their shoulders; these came along shouldering the crossbows. And their quivers went hung at their sides or passed under their arms; [these] went filled, crammed, with arrows — with iron bolts. Their cotton armor reached to their knees; it was very thick, very hard, very dense, like limestone. And their heads were likewise wrapped in cotton armor, and from the tops of their heads arose quetzal plumes, dividing and outspread.

The fourth group likewise was of horse[men], similar in array to what hath been told.

The fifth group were those bearing arquebuses, arquebusiers, who carried arquebuses on their shoulders. Some passed along with them [carried] straight forward. And when they had come into the great palace, the residence of the rulers, they fired them — they repeatedly shot the arquebuses. Now they each shattered [the air], they all crackled, scattering [the shot], and barked and thundered. Smoke was spread and diffused; it was dark with smoke. The fumes covered all the ground; they spread all over the soil. By its fetid smell it stupefied and robbed one of one's senses.

And at the very last came, directing from the rear, the greatest warrior, who was like the commanding general,[4] experienced as war ruler and commander of warriors. Surrounding him, crowding about him, at his side and behind, went his brave warriors, his standard bearers, those who served him — those who were like his shaven ones, like his Otomí [warriors], his brave and intrepid ones; the mainstay and support of a city — its soul and foundation.

intepopuçoqujllo chachapaca tlalpan, iuhqujn amulli chachapanj; auh injc nenemj cenca tlatiticujtza, tlatetecujtza: tlacocomotza, iuhqujn tlatemotla, njman cocoionj, cocomolivi in tlalli in vncan qujquetza imjcxi, yioca momamana in vncan qujquequetztivi in jmjcxi, in inma.

Injqu epantin tepuztlavitoleque, tepuztlavitoloanj inmac onotivitz in tepuztlavitolli, tlaiecotivitze, tlatlaiecotivitze, qujixcatzitztivitze. Auh in cequjntin qujquechpanoa, qujquequechpanotivitze in tepuztlavitolli: auh in inmjcon iniomotlan pipilcatiuh, inciacacpa qujqujztiuh, vel tetentiuh, calhcacatzcatiuh in mjtl, in tepuzmjtl, imjichcavipil, intlanquac ahacitiuh, vel titilaoac, vellatepizçotl, iuhqui titilacpopul, iuhqujn tepetlatl: auh in intzontecon ic qujmjlivi çan no ie in jchcavipilli, yoan inquequetzal imjcpac conquequetztivi, xexeliuhtiuh, momoiaoatiuh.

Injc nappantin çan no iehoantin in cavallotin, çan ie no iuhquj in innechichioal in juh omjto.

Injc macujllamantli iehoatin in matlequjqujceque, in matlequjqujçoanj, qujquequechpanoa in matlequjqujztli; cequjntin qujtecativitze. Auh in jquac in ocalaqujco in vei tecpan, in tlatocan; qujtlaxque, qujtlatlaxque in matlequjqujztli, ic oncuecueponj, ie oncuecuepoca, xixitica, tlatlatzinj, ooalaca, poctli moteca, poctli moteteca, poctica tlaioa in poctli centlalli momana cẽtlalli moteca: injc xoqujiac teixivinti, teiolmoiauh:

auh ça tlatzacutiuh, tetzinpachotiuh in iautachcauh in ma iuhquj tlacateccatl momati in iautlatoanj, in iautecanj, cololhujtivi, qujtepevitivi, qujtzacutitivi, qujtlamatilitivi, qujtzatzacutivi in jtiacaoan, in itlavicecaoan, in jmananqujlloã, in ma iuhquj quaquachictin, in ma iuhquj otomj in jchicavilloã, in jnechicaoalhoan, in jnetlaquechilhoan, in jtlaxilloan altepetl, in jiolloan, in jtetzoncoan:

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[4] Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, III — *The Origin of the Gods*, p. 53, n. 3.

Then all the dwellers in cities beyond the mountains—those of Tlaxcalla, of Tliliuhquitepetl, of Uexotzinco—sped along at the rear. They came girt for war, with their cotton armor, their shields, their bows; their quivers filled and crammed with feathered arrows, some of barbed, wooden points, some blunted, some with obsidian points. They came crouching, and as they went, loosed cries and shrieks while striking their mouths with their hands; they screeched and whistled, and shook their heads.

And some bore burdens upon their backs; they carried rations on their backs. Some carried things [held by a tump line about] their foreheads, or, some, their breasts; some bore things on carrying frames, some in cage-like baskets, some in deep, reed baskets; some bore bundles; they carried them upon their backs; some dragged the great lombard guns, which rested upon wooden wheels. And they moved them along shouting.

njman ie ixqujch in acatepeoa, in tlateputzcatl, in tlaxcaltecatl, tliliuhqujtepecatl, in vexotzincatl: tlatoqujlitivitze, moiauchichiuhtivitze imjichcavipil, in chichimal, intlatlavitol, inmjmjcon tetentiuh, cacacatzcatiuh in totomjtl, cequj chichiqujlli, cequj tlihpontli, cequj itztmjtl momamantivi, motenvitectivi, motenpapavitivi, tocujleuhtivi, tlatlanqujqujztivi, moquacuecuechotivi. 648 726

Auh in cequjntin tlamama, itacamama, cequjntin tlaixquamama, cequjntin tlaelpanmama, cequjntin tlacacaxvia, cequjntin tlaoacalhuja, cequjntin tlatompiavia, cequjntin tlaqujmjlhuja, maçoço tlaqujmjlmamama, cequjntin qujvilana in vevei, in totomaoac tlequjqujztli, quauhtemalacac onotiuh, qujçavatztivitze. 648 726 482

[p. 40 is blank]

648 **Sixteenth Chapter.** Here is related how Moctezuma went in peace and calm to meet the Spaniards there at Xoloco,[1] where now standeth the house of Alvarado, or there at the place they call Uitzillan.[2]

And after this, when [the Spaniards] reached Xoloco, when affairs had thus far developed, and had reached this point,[3] thereupon Moctezuma arrayed and bedight himself in order to meet them. And [with him were] a number of great lords and princes, his chief men and nobles. Upon this, they went to meet them. In shining gourds they set out
[137 fine flowers — sun flowers[4] and magnolias,[5] and, lying in the midst of them, popcorn flowers,[6] yellow
353] magnolias,[7] and cacao blossoms;[8] and [there were] wreaths for the head and garlands. And they bore
[301] golden neck bands, neck bands with pendants, and plaited neck bands.

648 431 And when, there at Uitzillan, Moctezuma met them, he then offered gifts to the war leaders, to the leaders of the warriors; he gave them flowers; he bejeweled them with neck bands; he hung garlands about them, he placed chains of flowers on them

Injc caxtolli occe capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma pacca, iocuxca qujnnamjqujto Españoles, in vmpa xoluco, in axcan ie vmpa manj ical albarado, in anoço vncan qujtoa Vitzillan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oacico xoluco, in ie vncan tlantimanj ie vncan iaquetivitz. Niman ie ic muchichioa, mocẽcaoa in Motecuçomatzin injc tenamjqujz: yoan oc cequjntin veveintin tlatoque in tlaçopipilti, in jtlatocaiovan, in jpilloan: njmã ie ic vi tenamjqujzque, xicalpechtica cõmamãque in tlaçosuchitl, in chimalsuchitl, in iollosuchitl inepantla icatiuh in jzqujsuchitl, in coztic iiesuchitl, in cacaoasuchitl, icpacsuchitl, in suchineapantli: yoã qujtquj in teucujtlacozcatl, chaiaoac cozcatl, cozcapetlatl.

Auh ie vncan in vitzilla ontenamjc Motecuçomatzin, njman ie ic contlamamaca in iautachcauh, in intepachocauh iauqujzque, cozochimacac, conconcati in cozcatl, consuchicozcati, consuchiapan, conjcpacsuchiti: njman ie ic ixpan contequjlia in teucujtla-

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[312] [1] Xoloco or Xolaco served to identify the canal which ran along the Calzada de Chimalpopoca; this canal was crossed by a bridge given the same name. In times past they have been named Canal and Bridge of San Antón. Its exact location is the intersection of the Calzadas of San Antonio Abad and Chimalpopoca, the place of the first meeting of Cortés and Moctezuma (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). See map. Alfonso Caso, in *Los barrios antiguos de Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco* (México, D. F.: 6ª Mesa Redonda, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Sept. 1954; mimeographed), identifies Xoloco as a *barrio* bounded N. by a line S. of Calle de José Ma. Izazaga; E., Pino Suárez and S. Antonio Abad; S., Lucas Alamán; and W., extension of 20 de Noviembre.

[2] Near the Church of S. Pablo, according to Sahagún's Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Chapter 30.

[3] Corresponding Spanish text: *"Ya llegando los españoles a aquel río que esta cabe las casas de alvarado que se llama Xoloco."*

[4] *Chimalsuchitl. Chimalacaxochitl* is mentioned in Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 101-102 (fig., p. 102). Chimalacatl (ibid., p. 100), *"tiene . . . flores redondas mayores (gran prodigio) de un palmo, amarillo rojizas con algo de amarillo más fuerte en su parte media"*; *Helianthus annuus* L. Linn.; *girasol, chimalatl, mata de sapo. Chimalacaxochitl* is classified as *"compuesta."*

[5] *Yollosuchitl. Yoloxóchitl* (*Talauma mexicana*, Don?), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 299. According to Emily Walcott Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin 241*), *Vatican Library — an Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 310 and Pl. 98, it is the Mexican magnolia and (citing Sahagún), "was reserved solely for the nobility, especially a kind known as tlacalosuchitl."

[6] *Izquisuchitl. Izquixóchitl:* in Chiapas, *jazmín del istmo — Bourreria formosa; B. huanita; B. litoralis* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 626). Popcorn flower (*Bourreria huanita* [La Llave and Lex] Hemsl.), according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 276 and Pl. 60 — a rare and coveted plant whose flowers were used to flavor cacao. In Sahagún (Jourdanet and Siméon ed.), p. 57, n. 2, it is noted that *"Cette fleur vient sur l'arbre izquixochiquauitl, bourreria huanita, de la famille des [illegible]."*

[7] *Yexochitl.* Nardo Antonio Recchi (*Rerum medicarum novae Hispaniae thesaurus seu plantarum animalium mineralium mexicanorum historia ex Francisci Hernandez* [Rome: Ex Typographeio Vitalis Mascardi, 1651], p. 238) gives *eloxochitl* as an alternative (*"quam alij Eloxochitl, seu Florem Elotl, alij vero Coatzontecoxochitl* [cuauhtepoztli?] *seu Yoloxochitl [illegible], vocant"*), a cold climate plant (*"provenit regionibus frigidis, & montanis locis"*). There is a confusion of terminology. Santamaría (*op. cit.*, I, p. 588) identifies it (*eloxochitl*) as *Magnolia dealbata* Zucc. Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 275) points out that, while according to Hernández it is a magnolia, in the *Badianus MS* the flower "appears to belong to the Compositae."

[8] *Cacaosuchitl. Cacahuaxóchitl*, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 250 (*Quararibea funebris Llave*). In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 248, it is identified as *"Rosita de cacao. Myrodia funebris. Bent. Euterosphilum."* Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 311 and Pl. 98) has *Theobroma angustifolium* DC, one of the important cacao plants.

648 431 and wreaths upon their heads. Thereupon he spread out before [Cortés] the golden neck bands—all the greeting gifts with which the welcome closed. Some he hung with neck bands.

648 Then [Cortés] said to Moctezuma: "Is this not thou? Art thou not he? Art thou Moctezuma?"

Moctezuma replied: "It is so; I [am he]."

At this he arose to meet him face to face, did a great reverence to him, drew close to him, and stood firm.

Thus did he pray and speak [to Cortés]: "O our lord, thou hast suffered fatigue; thou hast spent thyself. Thou hast arrived on earth; thou hast come to thy noble city of Mexico. Thou hast come to occupy thy noble mat and seat, which for a little time I have guarded and watched for thee. For thy governors [of times past] have gone—the rulers Itzcoatl, Moctezuma the Elder, Axayacatl, Tiçoc, Auitzotl—who, not very long ago, came to guard [thy mat and seat] for thee and to govern the city of Mexico. Under their protection the common folk came here. Could they, perchance, now find their descendants, those left behind? O, that one of them might be a witness to marvel that to me now hath befallen what I see, who am the only descendant of our lords. For I dream not, nor start from my sleep, nor see this as in a trance. I do not dream that I see thee and look into thy face. Lo, I have been troubled for a long time. I have gazed into the unknown whence thou hast come—the place of mystery. For the rulers [of old] have gone, saying that thou wouldst come to instruct thy city, [that] thou wouldst descend to thy mat and seat; that thou wouldst return. And now it is fulfilled: thou hast returned; thou hast suffered fatigue; thou hast spent thyself. Arrive now in thy land. Rest, lord; visit thy palace [that] thou mayest rest thy body. Let our lords arrive in the land."[9]

And when Moctezuma had ended his address, which he had directed to the Marquis, Marina explained and interpreted for him. And when the Marquis had heard Moctezuma's words, then he spoke to Marina.[10] He addressed them in a barbarous tongue; he said in his strange language:

"May Moctezuma quiet his heart and not be frightened. We love him much. Now our hearts are

concatl, in jxqujtlamātli tenamjconj, tenamjctli in jca oiecauh, coquj cōconcati:

Njmā qujoalilhuj in Motecuçoma. Cujx amo te? cujx amo ie te? ie te in timotecuçoma:

qujto in Motecuçoma, ca quemaca ca nehoatl:

njmā ie ic vel ommoquetza conjxnamjctimoquetza, connepechtequjlia, vel ixqujch caana, motlaquauhquetza:

injc contlatlauhti, qujlhuj. Totecujoe oticmjhiovilti, oticmociavilti, otlaltitech tommaxitico, oitech tommopachivitico in Matzin, in motepetzin mexico, oipan tommovetzitico in mopetlatzin, in mocpaltzin, in oachitzinca njmjtzōnopielili, in onjmjtzonnotlapielili, ca oiaque in motechiuhcaoan in tlatoque: in Jtzcoatzin, in veve Motecuçoma, in Axaiaca, in Tiçocic, in Avitzotl, in oc uel achic mjtzommotlapielilico, in oqujpachoco in atl, in tepetl in Mexico: in incujtlapan, inteputzco in ovalietia in momacehualtzin, cujx oc vallamati in jmonjca, in inteputzco, ma ceme iehoantin qujtztiazquj qujmaviçotiazquj, in nehoatl in axcan nopan omochiuh in ie njqujtta, in ça imonjca, inteputzco totecujovan camo çan njtemjquj, amo çā njcochitlehoa, amo çan njcochitta, amo çan njctemjquj ca ie onjmjtznottili, mjxtzinco onjtlachix, ca ononnentlamatticatca in ie macujl in ie matlac, in vmpa nonjtztica, in quenamjcan in otimoqujxtico in mjxtitlan in aiauhtitlan: anca iehoatl inin qujtenehuhtivi in tlatoq̄ in ticmomachitiquiuh in matzin, in motepetzin in jpā timovetzitiquiuh in mopetlatzin, in mocpaltzin in tioalmovicaz. Auh in axcan ca onelti, otioalmovicac, oticmjhiovilti, oticmociavilti, ma tlaltitech ximaxiti, ma ximocevitzino, ma xocommomachiti in motecpancaltzin, ma xicmocevili in monacaiotzin, ma tlaltitech maxitican in totecujovan.

Auh in ontzonqujz in jtlatlatlauhtiliz Motecuçoma concaqujti in Marques: njman ic conmacaqujtili connaoaittalhuj in Malintzin. Auh in oocac in Marques in jtlatol in motecuçoma: njman ie qujoalnaoatia in Malitzin qujnoalpopolotza: qujoalito in jpopolochcopa.

Ma moiollali in Motecuçoma, macamo momauhtj, ca cenca ticnelaçotla, ca axcan vel pachiuj in toiollo, satisfied, because we have known and heard him. For a long time we have wished to see him and to look upon his face. And now that we have seen him and have come to his home in Mexico, at leisure he may hear our words."

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[9] A number of the allusions made here to Moctezuma's ancestry are explained in Alfonso Caso: "Instituciones indígenas precortesianas," pp. 20-21.

[10] The Aztec text should read "Malintzin."

Thereupon they took him by the hand and went leading him by it. They clapped him on the back in order to make known to him their love.

And the Spaniards beheld and examined him. They walked about on foot, and mounted or dismounted in order to look at him.

And the nobles, as many as accompanied him, [were], first, Cacamatzin, ruler of Texcoco; second, Tetlepanquetzatzin, ruler of Tlacopan; third Itzquauhtzin, a general, ruler of Tlatilulco; and fourth, Topantemoctzin, of Tlatilulco, who was Moctezuma's store keeper. [These] accompanied him. And still other noblemen of Tenochtitlan [were] Atlixcatzin, a commanding general; Tepeuatzin, a general; Totomotzin, the army commander; Ecatenpatiltzin, and Quappiatzin. When Moctezuma was taken, they only hid themselves and took refuge. They abandoned him in desperation.

ca tiqujximati in ticcaquj, ca ie izqujch cavitl in 648
cenca tiqujttaznequj in jxco titlachiaznequj. Auh
injn ca otiqujttaque, ie otioallaq̃ in jchan in Mexico,
iujañ qujcaqujz in totlatol:

njman ie ic imatitech conanque, ie ic qujvicatinj-
tze, qujtzotzona injc qujnextilia in intetlaçotlaliz.

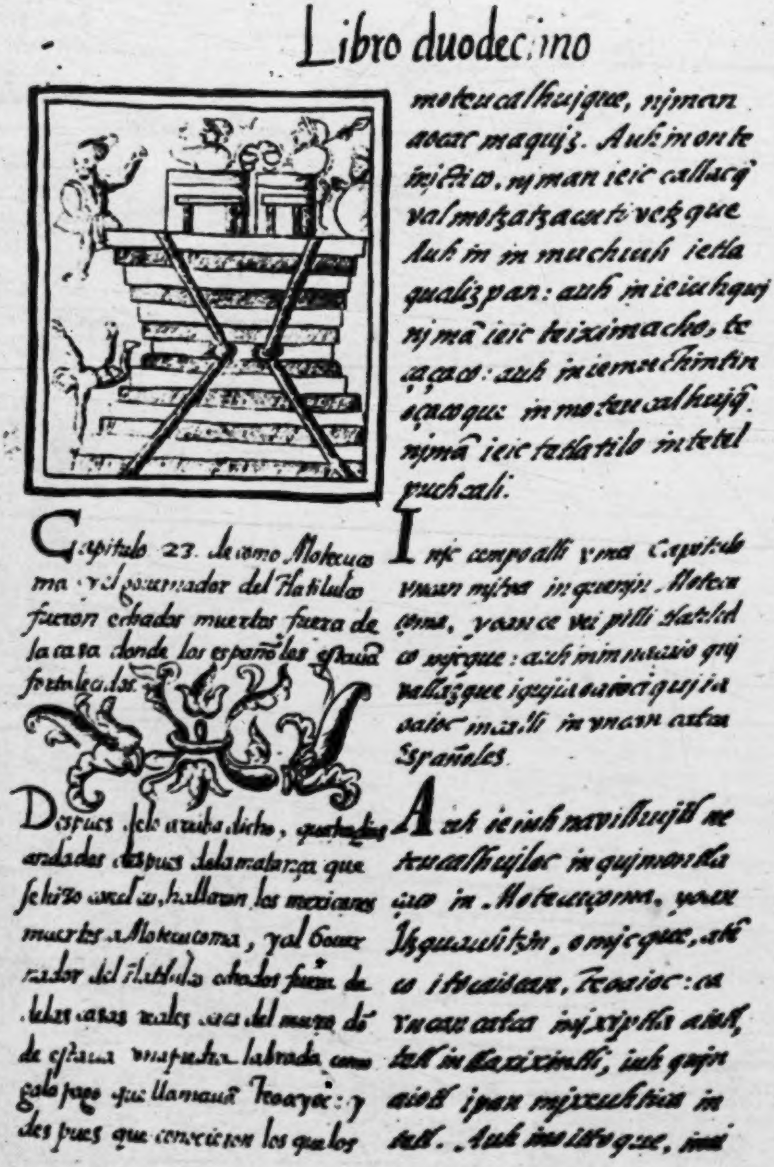
Auh in Españoles qujtta, qujcecemjtta, icxitlan ompepeoa, ontletleco, oaltetemo injc qujtta.

Auh in tlatoque izqujntin in jtlan mantiaque. Inic 648
ce, Cacamatzin, Tetzcucu tlatoanj. Inic vme, Tetle- 565
pãquetzatzin: tlacuban tlatoanj. Injc ei, Itzquauhtzin tlacochcalcatl: tlatilulco tlatoanj. Injc navi, Topantemoctzin, tlatilulco itlatlatlalicauh catca, in Motecuçoma in ommantiaque. Auh in occequjntin pipiltin tenochca in Atlixcatzin, tlacatecatl, in tepeoatzin, tlacochcalcatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Ticociaoacatl, Totomotzin, hecatēpatiltzin, Quappiatzin in nauoc Motecuçoma camo çã motlatique, mjnaxque, qujtlauelcauhque.

[p. 44 is blank]

ILLUSTRATIONS

[p. 44(A)]



Libro duodecimo

motecuçalhuijque, njman aocac maquiz. Auh in oncan [illegible], njman ic ic callacq valmotzatzacuti vetzque Auh in in mexicah ietla qualizpan: auh in ic ieuhquj njman ic ic teixinmachoa, te çaçaco: auh in iemochintin [illegible] in motecuçalhuijque. njman ic ic tetlatlatilo in tetel puchcali.

Capitulo 23. de como Motecuçoma y el governador del Tlatilulco fueron echados muertos fuera de la casa donde los españoles estavan fortalecidos.

Inic cempoalli ymei Capitulo vncan mitoa in quenin Motecuçoma, yoan ce vei pilli Tlatilulco [illegible]: auh in [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in vncan catca Españoles.

Despues de lo arriba dicho, quatro dias andados despues de la matança que se hizo en el cu, hallaron los mexicanos muertos a Motecuçoma, y al Governador del Tlatilulco echados fuera de las casas reales cerca del muro donde estava una piedra labrada como galapago que llamavan Teoayoc: y despues que conocieron los que los

Auh ic inhnavilhujtl [illegible] in quijmontla çaco in Motecuçoma, yoan Itzquauhtzin, omjcque, [illegible] [illegible], Teoaioc: ca [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] in [illegible]; [illegible] [illegible] ipan [illegible] in tetl. Auh in [illegible], [illegible]

Page from Florentine Codex (Chapter 23)

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955

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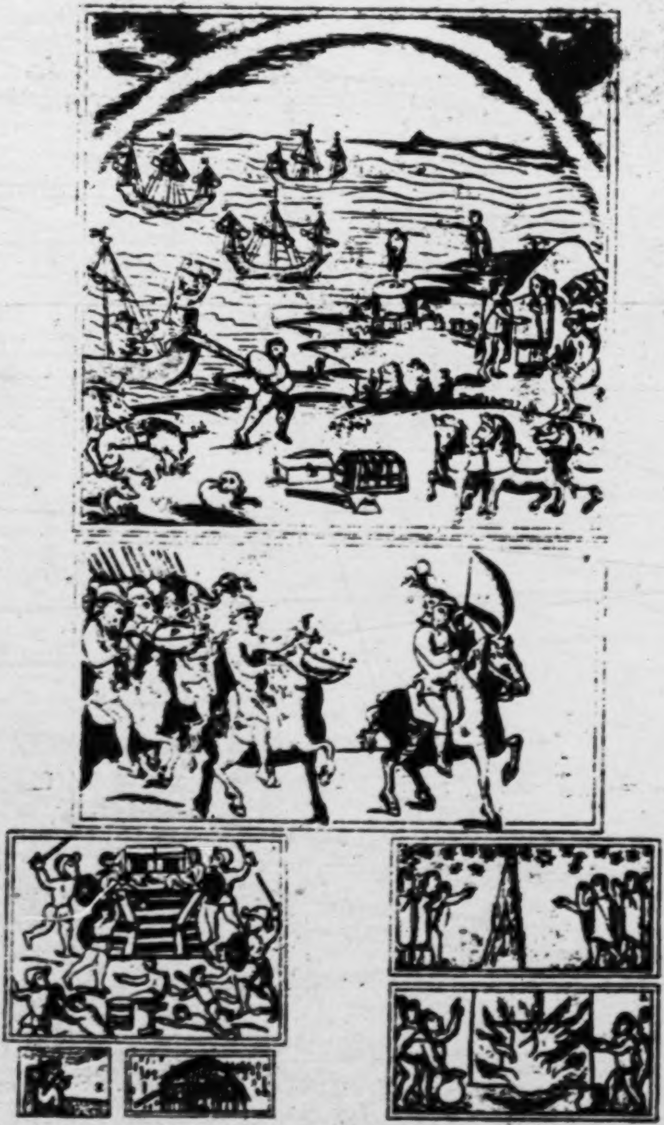

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1. Landing of the Spaniards (preceding text). 2. Spaniards marching (preceding text). 3. Spaniards assaulting a temple in Mexico (Chapter 1). 4. First omen: the tongue of fire (Chapter 1). 5. Second omen: burning of Temple of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 1). 6. Third omen: burning of Temple of Xiuhtecutli (Chapter 1). 7. Fourth omen: comet in three parts (Chapter 1).

[p. 44(C)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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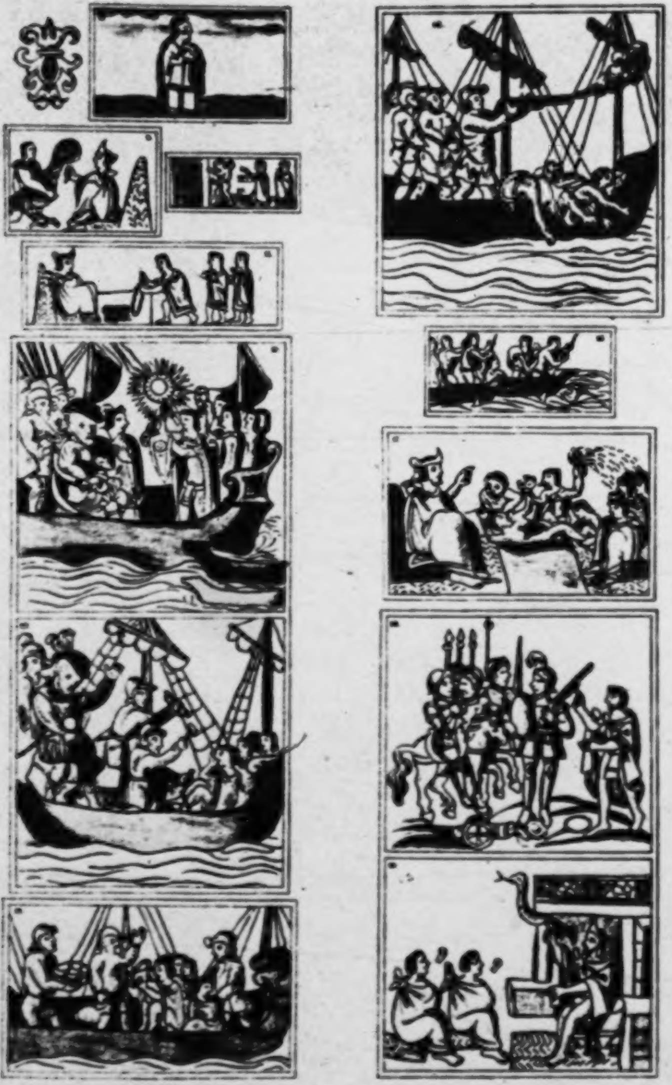

— *After Paso y Troncoso*

8. Sixth omen: the weeping woman (Chapter 1). 9. Seventh omen: the ashen bird with a mirror (Chapter 1). 10. Eighth omen: two-headed men (Chapter 1). 11. Stewards present Spaniards' gift to Moctezuma (Chapter 2). 12. Moctezuma's messengers present gifts to Cortés (Chapter 5). 13. Spaniards bind Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 5). 14. Spaniards fire guns and terrify the messengers (Chapter 5). 15. Spaniards give food to Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 5). 16. Moctezuma's messengers return to the mainland (Chapter 6). 17. Captives are slain before Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 6). 18. Spaniards in war array (Chapter 7). 19. Moctezuma hears description of the Spaniards (Chapter 7).

[p. 44(D)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955

NU7 Aztec NU7

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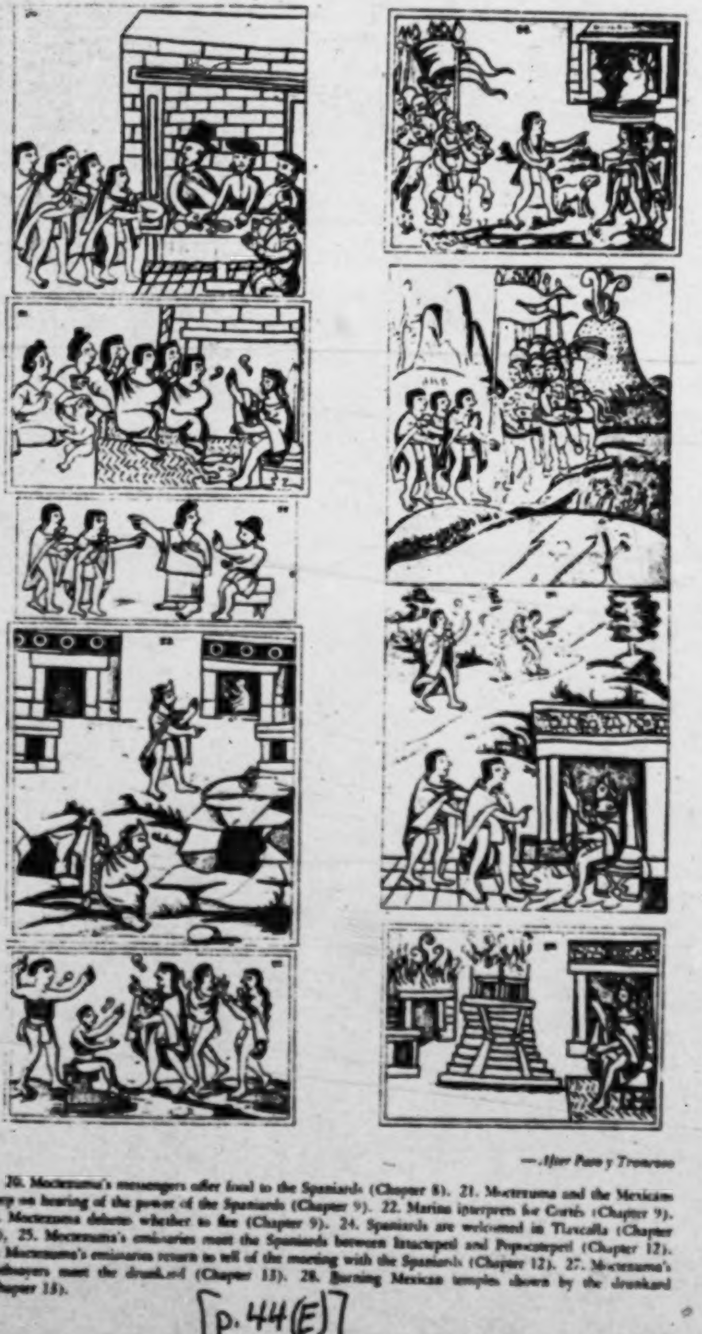
[431]



—After Paso y Troncoso

20. Moctezuma's messengers offer food to the Spaniards (Chapter 8). 21. Moctezuma and the Mexicans weep on hearing of the power of the Spaniards (Chapter 9). 22. Marina interprets for Cortés (Chapter 9). 23. Moctezuma debates whether to flee (Chapter 9). 24. Spaniards are welcomed in Tlaxcalla (Chapter 11). 25. Moctezuma's emissaries meet the Spaniards between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl (Chapter 12). 26. Moctezuma's emissaries return to tell of the meeting with the Spaniards (Chapter 12). 27. Moctezuma's soothsayers meet the drunkard (Chapter 13). 28. Burning Mexican temples shown by the drunkard (Chapter 13).

[p. 44(E)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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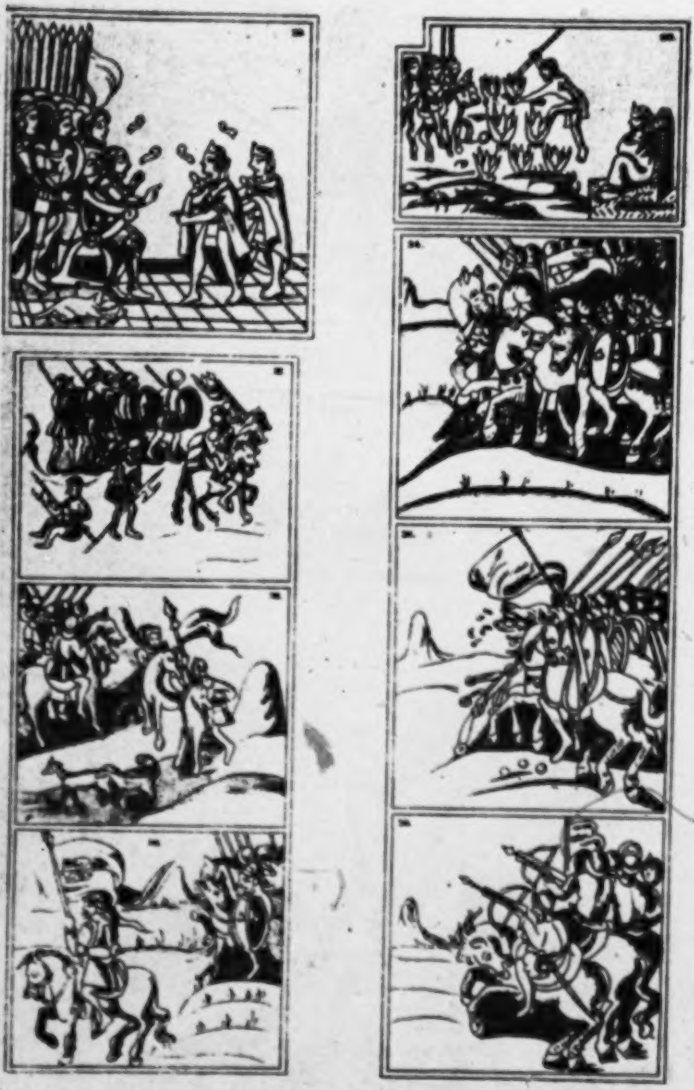

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

29. The road to Tenochtitlan is sown with maguey plants (Chapter 14). 30. Spaniards receive the submission of two of the Four Lords (Chapter 14). 31-36. Spaniards on the march from Iztapalapan to Tenochtitlan (Chapter 15).

[p.44(F)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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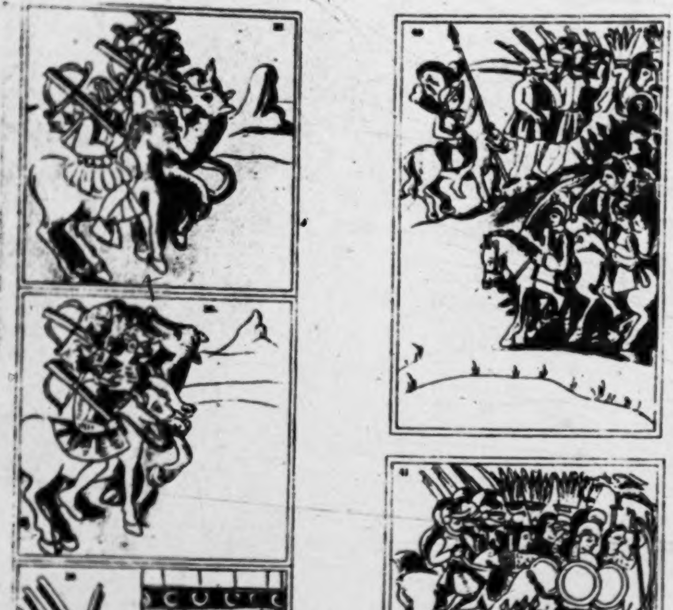

—After Paso y Troncoso

37-43. Spaniards on the march from Iztapalapan to Tenochtitlan (Chapter 15).

[p.44(G)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955

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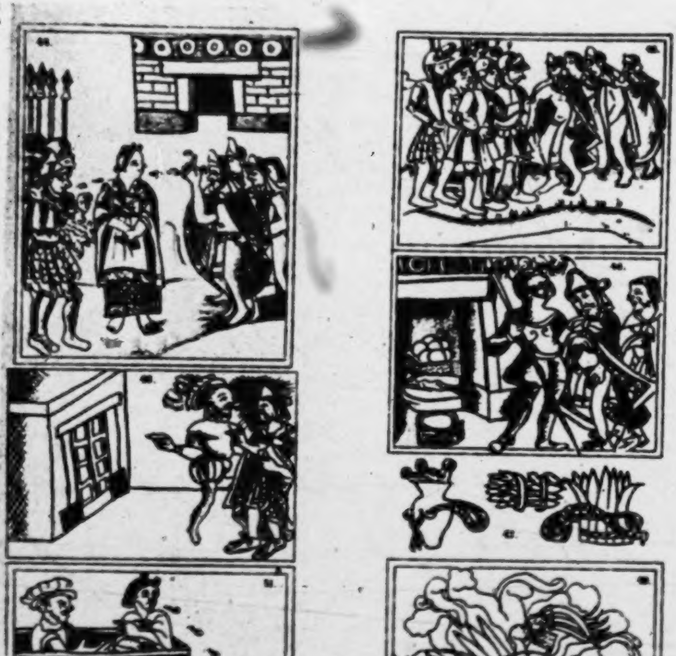

—After Paso y Troncoso

44. Marina interprets for the Spaniards when Moctezuma meets Cortés (Chapter 16). 45, 46. Spaniards take Moctezuma with them as they enter the great palace (Chapter 17). 47. Supplies demanded by the Spaniards (Chapter 17). 48. Moctezuma leads Cortés to the treasure (Chapter 17). 49, 50. Spaniards and allies loot the treasure house (Chapter 17). 51. Marina addresses Mexican noblemen (Chapter 15). 52. Mexicans leave supplies for the Spaniards (Chapter 18).

[p. 44(H)]

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[301]
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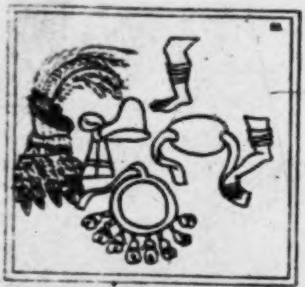

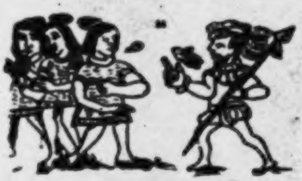

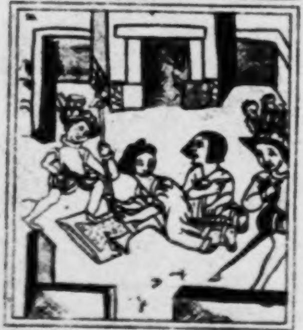

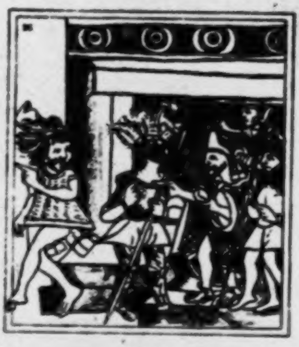

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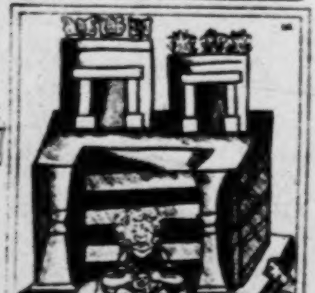

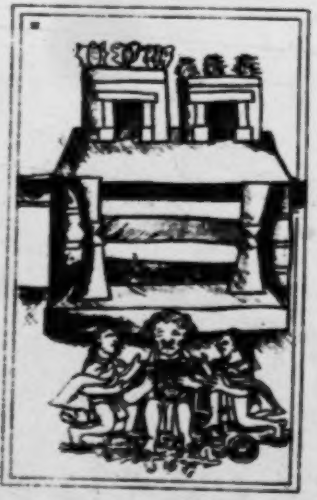

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

53. Tribute left for the Spaniards (Chapter 18). 54. Alvarado asks to see the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 55, 56. Spaniards see preparations for the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 57, 58. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(I)]

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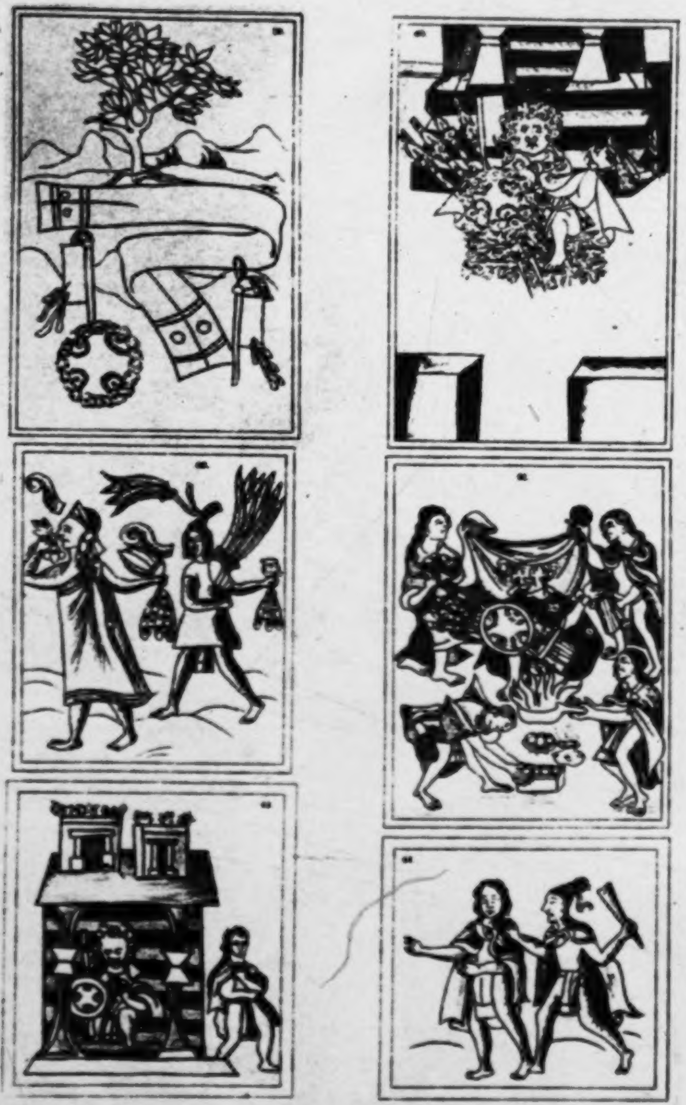

—After Paso y Troncoso

59-64. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(J)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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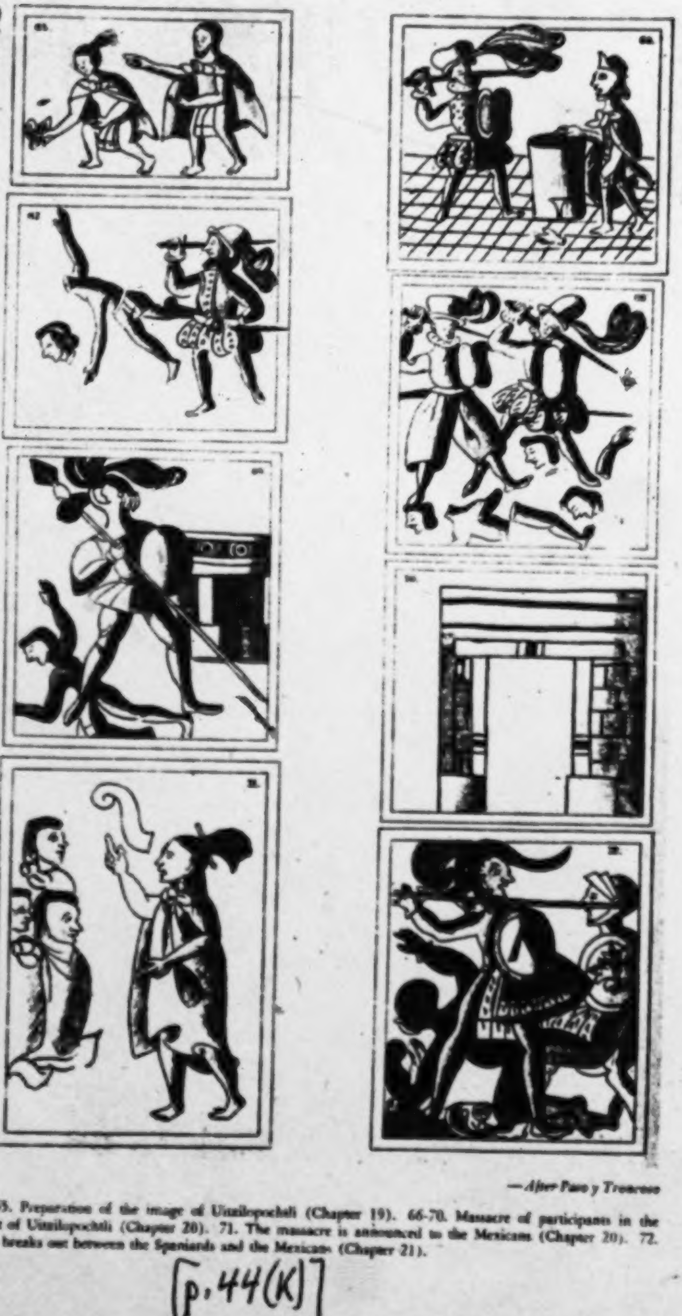

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

65. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 66-70. Massacre of participants in the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 20). 71. The massacre is announced to the Mexicans (Chapter 20). 72. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21).

[p. 44(K)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955

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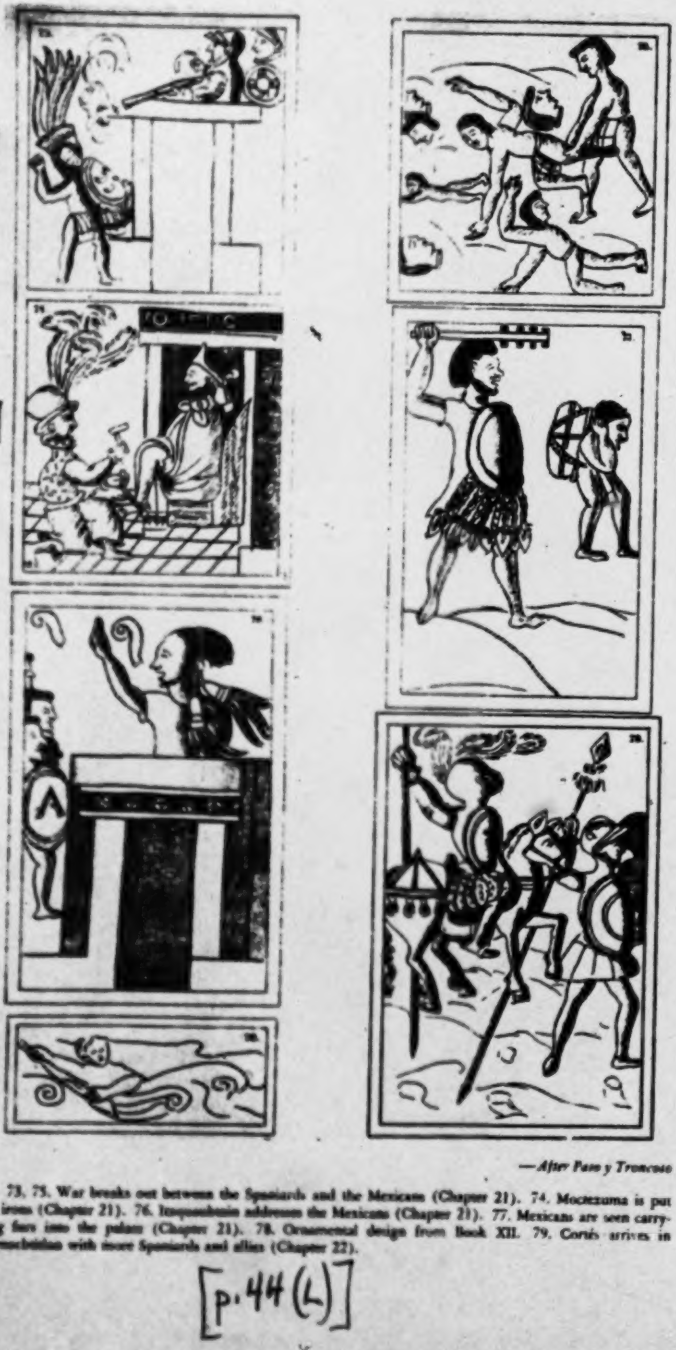

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

73, 75. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 74. Moctezuma is put in irons (Chapter 21). 76. Itzquauhtzin addresses the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 77. Mexicans are seen carrying furs into the palace (Chapter 21). 78. Ornamental design from Book XII. 79. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22).

[p. 44 (L)]

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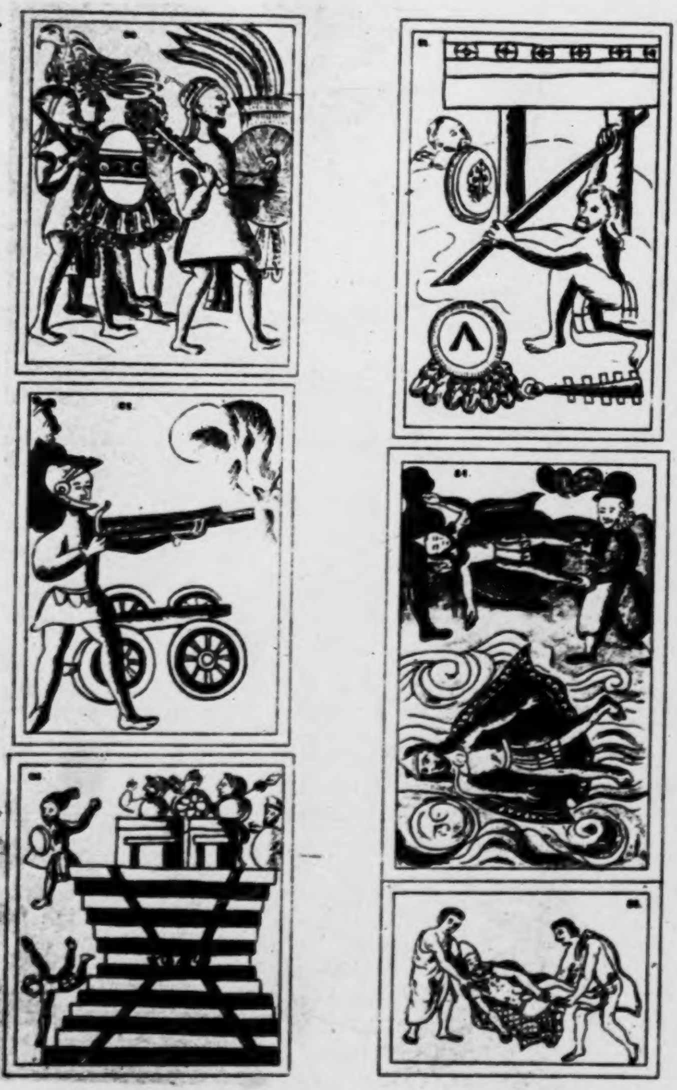

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

80-82. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22). 83. Spaniards rout chieftains from the pyramid temple (Chapter 22). 84. Bodies of Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin are cast out of the palace by the Spaniards (Chapter 23). 85. Mocteuzma's body is carried away (Chapter 23).

[p.44 (M)]

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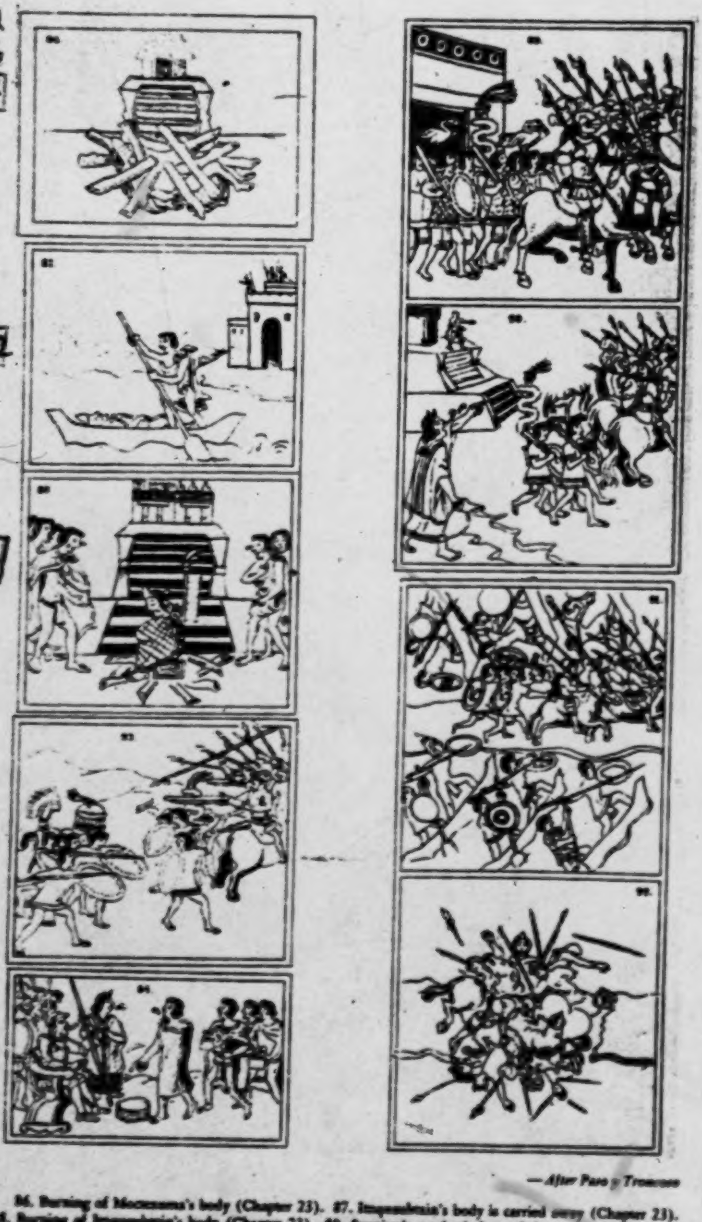

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

86. Burning of Moctezuma's body (Chapter 23). 87. Itzquauhtzin's body is carried away (Chapter 23). 88. Burning of Itzquauhtzin's body (Chapter 23). 89. Spaniards set forth from their quarters in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 90. Spaniards are detected leaving (Chapter 24). 91-93. Flight from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 94. People of Teocalhueyacan comfort the Spaniards (Chapter 25).

[p. 44(N)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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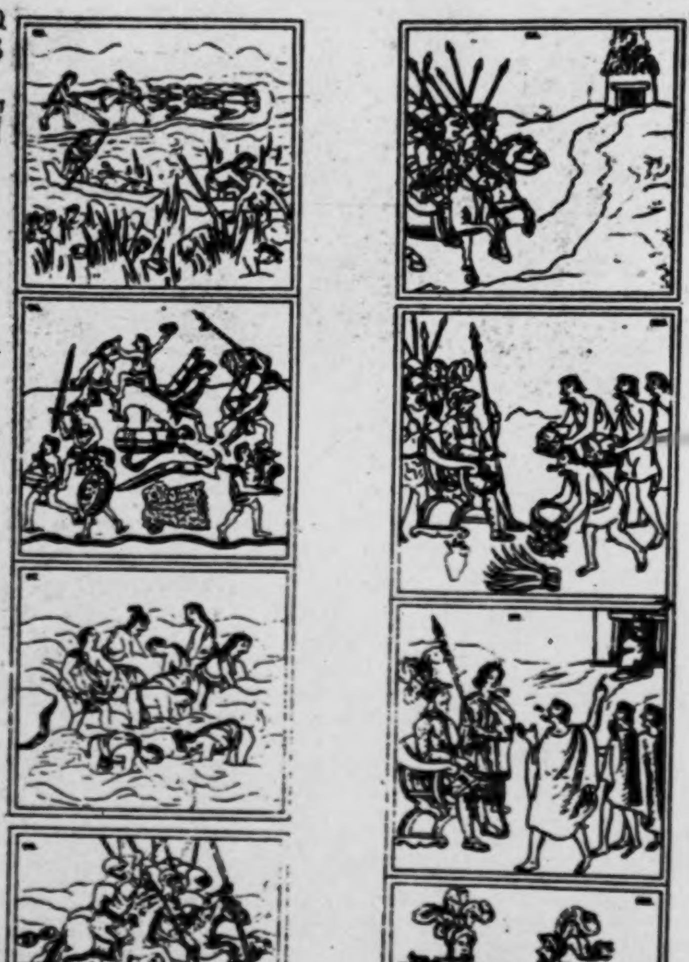

—After Paso y Troncoso

96, 97. Mexicans recover bodies and loot from the Toltec canal (Chapter 25). 98. Massacre at Calacoayan (Chapter 25). 99. Spaniards climb up to Teocalhueyacan (Chapter 25). 100, 101. People of Teocalhueyacan welcome the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 102. Spaniards prepare to depart from Teocalhueyacan (Chapter 26).

[p.44(0)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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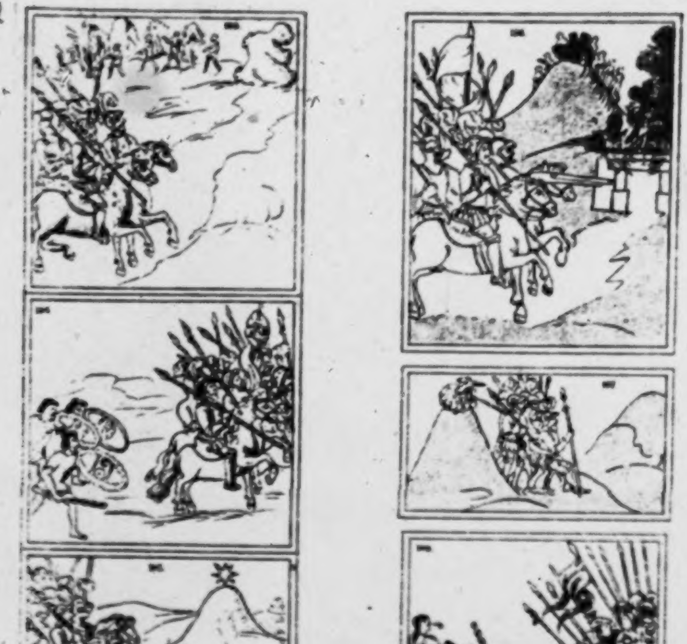

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714]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

103. Spaniards reach Tepotzotlan (Chapter 26). 104. Mexican warriors pursue the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 105. Spaniards reach Citlaltepec (Chapter 26). 106. Spaniards reach Xoloc (Chapter 26). 107. Spaniards reach Aztaquemecan (Chapter 26). 108. Mexicans on mountain-top watch for the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 27). 109, 110. Battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27).

[p. 44 (P)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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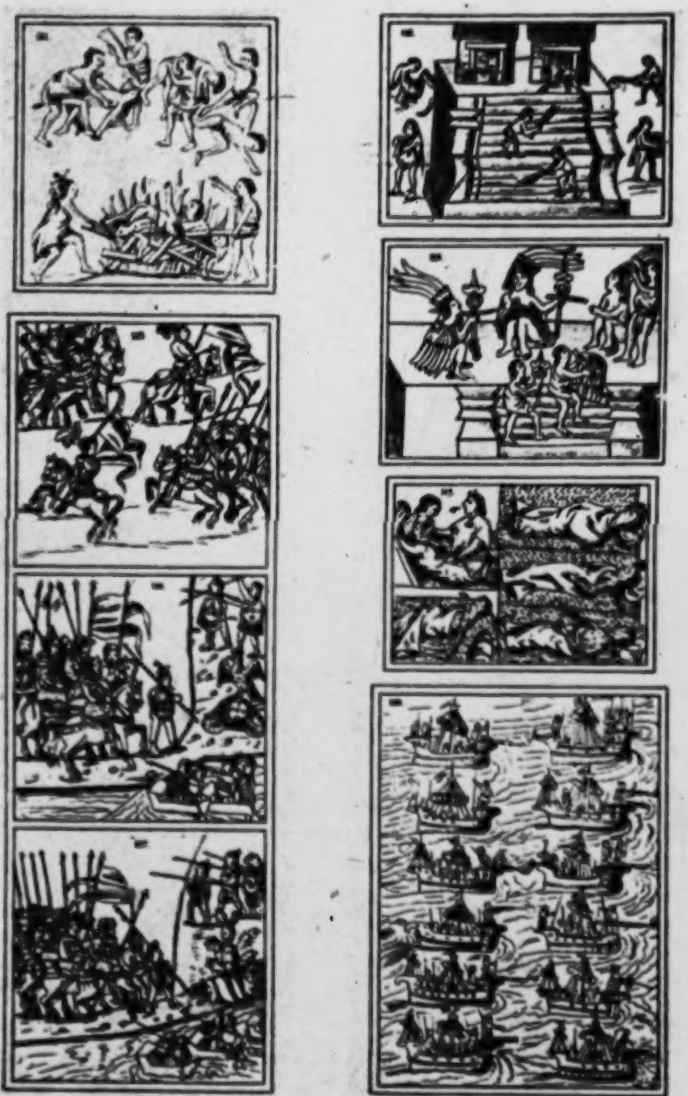

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

111. Burning of bodies of Mexicans slain in battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27). 112, 113. Refurbishing of a temple in Tenochtitlan on the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 28). 114. Smallpox plague (Chapter 29). 115-117. Return of the Spaniards to attack Tenochtitlan (Chapter 29). 118. Spanish brigantines (Chapter 30).

[p. 44 (Q)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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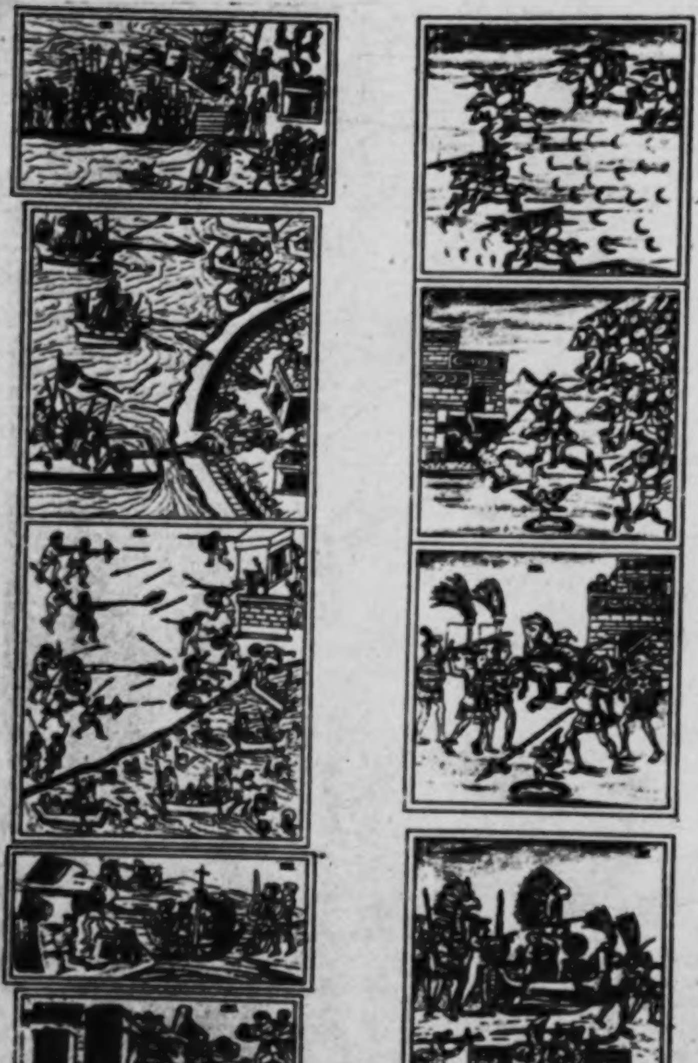
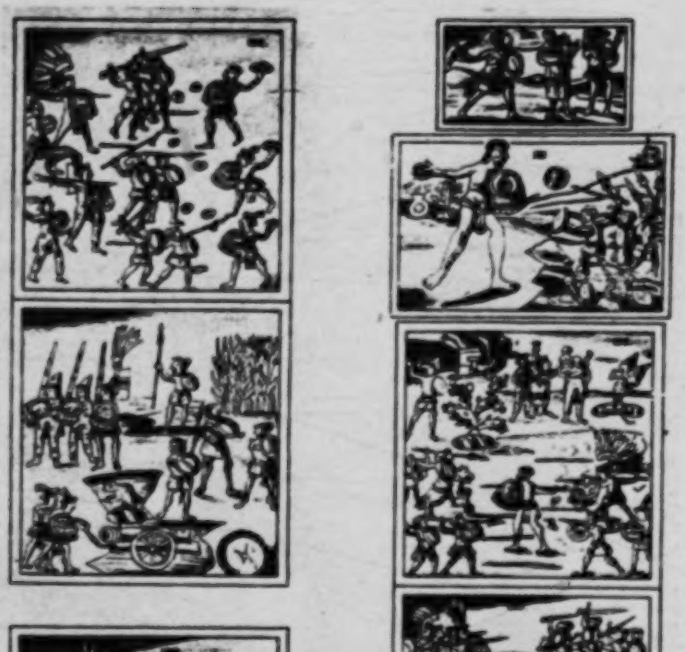


— *After Paso y Troncoso*

119. Spaniards attack Çoquipan (Chapter 30). 120. Spaniards crumble the wall at Xoloco (Chapter 30). 121. Fighting at Xoloco (Chapter 30). 122. Spaniards pierce the wall at Uitzillan (Chapter 31). 123. Allies of the Spaniards fill the canals (Chapter 31). 124. Spanish horsemen ride in at Uitzillan (Chapter 31). 125. Spanish horseman spears a Tlatilulcan (Chapter 31). 126. Mexican warriors unhorse and kill the Spaniard (Chapter 31). 127. Shore ones land from warboats (Chapter 31).

[p. 44 (R)]



—*After Paso y Troncoso*

128. Spaniards are attacked on both sides (Chapter 31). 129. Mexican warriors toss the captured cannon into the water at Tetamazolco (Chapter 31). 130. Mexicans flee from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 32). 131. Exploits of Tzilacatzin (Chapter 32). 132-134. Battle about Ayauhcaltitlan and Nonoalco (Chapter 32). 135-137. The warrior Tzilacatzin in three disguises (Chapter 32).

7: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1955
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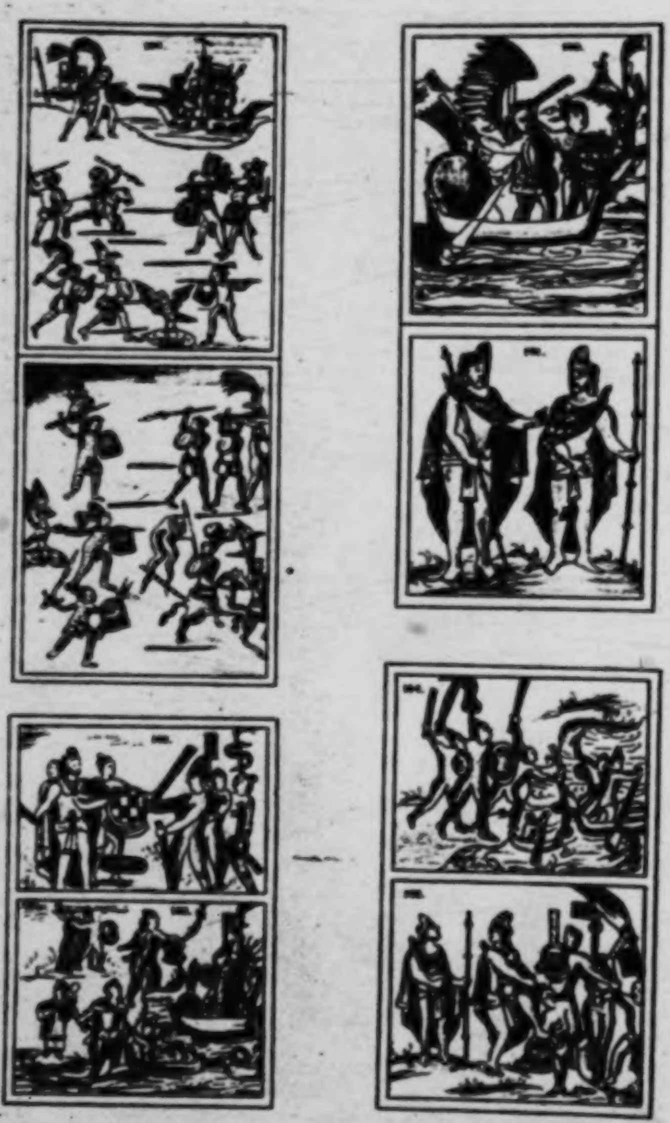

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

138, 139. Spaniards are fought off and withdraw (Chapter 32). 140. Warriors of Xochimilco, Itztapalapan, and Culhuacan arrive to work treachery upon the Mexicans (Chapter 33). 141. Quauhtemoc and a nobleman (Chapter 33). 142-145. The treachery of those of Xochimilco, Itztapalapan, and Culhuacan is prevented (Chapter 33).

[p 44 (T)]

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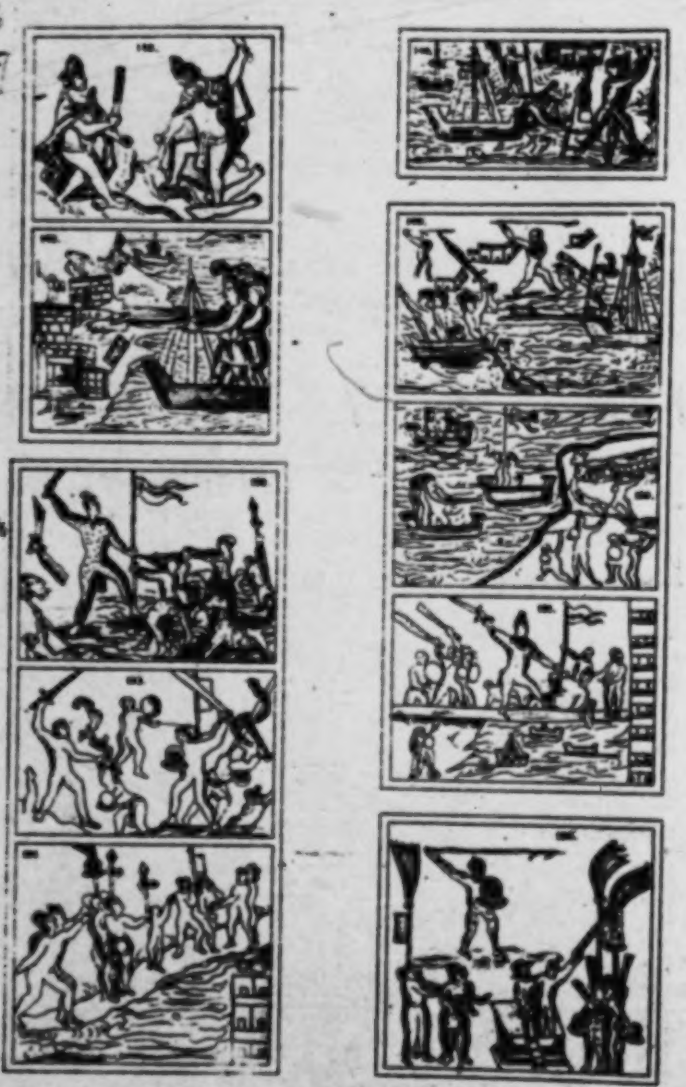

—After Paso y Troncoso

146. Quauhtemoc and Mayeuatzin punish the traitors (Chapter 33). 147, 148. Spaniards arrive at Yacacolco (Chapter 33, 34). 149-151. Mexicans disperse the Spaniards and capture some (Chapter 34). 152-155. Mexicans capture and sacrifice fifty-three Spaniards, some horses, and many allies (Chapter 35).

[p. 44 (u)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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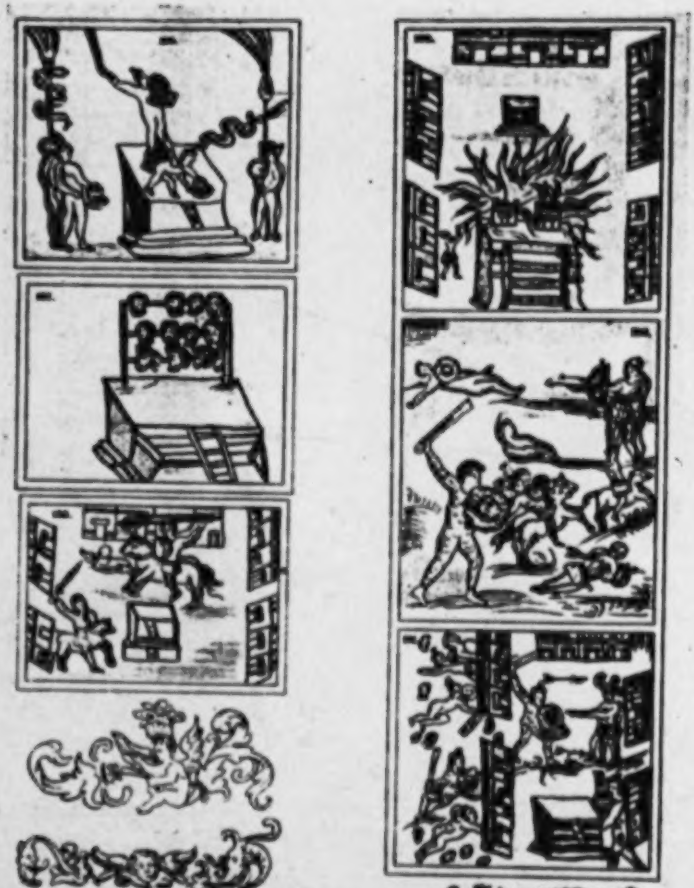

—After Paso y Troncoso

156, 157. Mexicans capture and sacrifice fifty-three Spaniards, some horses, and many allies (Chapter 35). 158. Spaniards enter the market place at Tlatelolco (Chapter 36). 159. Spaniards fire the temple at Tlatelolco (Chapter 36). 160, 161. Battle in the market place at Tlatelolco (Chapter 36).

[p. 44(V)]

OUU Seventeenth Chapter, in which it is told how the Spaniards took Moctezuma with them as they went into the great palace; and what there happened.

And when they had gone on to reach and enter the palace, forthwith they seized Moctezuma and kept him under guard,[1] never letting him from their sight, and with him Itzquauhtzin.[2] But the others only ran away.

And when this had come to pass, then the guns shot off. All flew into disorder, ran off to one side, melted from view [as the guns] flashed and spouted sparks.[3] All were as if stricken, drunk, as if all had looked upon [evil]. Fear reigned, as if everyone had lost heart. Even before it grew dark, all huddled in frightened, awed, and thunderstruck groups. All slept in terror.

And when dawn broke, all the things which [the Spaniards] needed were proclaimed [by the crier]: white tortillas, roasted birds, eggs, fresh water, wood—wood for burning, charcoal; earthen vessels—polished ones, water jars small and large, skillets, all [manner of] earthen vessels. [For] in truth [so] Moctezuma had commanded.

And when he summoned the noblemen, they defied him. They were wroth; they would not come to him; they would not go there. He was not listened to. But although not left at his feet,[4] all was given that [the Spaniards] needed—food, drink, chocolate, and fodder for deer.

652 And when [the Spaniards] were settled, they thereupon inquired of Moctezuma as to all the treasure of the city—the devices, the shields. Much did they tax him; with great zeal they demanded gold. And Moctezuma, upon this, proceeded to lead the Spaniards, who went surrounding and crowding about him as he went among them. He went at their head; they advanced with hands laid upon him, taking hold of him. And when they had ar-

Injc caxtolli omume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles qujvicatiaque Motecuçoma injc calaqujto vei tecpã: yoan in tlein vmpa mochiuh.

Auh in oacito tecpan, in ocalaqujto: çan njman vel quitzitzqujque, vel qujxpixtinenca, amo connjxcaoaia in Motecuçoma, in nehoan Itzquauhtzin: auh in oc cequjntin çan oalqujzque.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman ie uevetz in in tlequjqujztli, iuhqujn tlayxneliuj, avic viloa, tlaixmoiaoa, tlachichitoca, iuhqujn tlacica, çan oqu juhqujn netequjpacholo, iuhqujn nenanacavilo, iuhqujn tlen mach onnettitilo, maujztli oonoc, iuhqujn mochi tlacatl qujtollo yiollo: çãnoc iuh onioac, nemamauhtilotoc neihiçavilotoc, necujcujtiuechotoc, necochmamauhtilotoc.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ie ic motzatzilia in jxqujch intech monequj, in iztac tlaxcalli, totollaleoatzalli, totoltetl, chipaoac atl, in quaujtl, in tlatlatilquaujtl, in tecolli, in apaztli, in petzcaxitl, in apilloli, in tzotzocolli, in tlatzoionjlcaxitl, in ie ixqujch in çoqujtlatqujtl: ichoatl uel tlanaoatica in Motecuçomatzin.

Auh in qujnoalnotzaia pipilti, aocmo qujtlacamatia, ça quallanj, aocmo iujc qujça, aocmo ivic qujça, aocmo iujc onuj, aocmo mocaquj: auh tel amo icxic caoalo, maco in jxqujch itech monequj in qualonj, in joalonj, ioan in atl, in maçatlaqlli.

Auh in no uel motlalique: njmã ie ic qujntemolia in Motecuçomatzin in jxqujch in jtetzõ in altepetl, in tlaujztli, in chimalli, cenca qujmatataqujlia, cẽca qujmaujztemoa in teucujtlatl. Auh in Motecuçomatzin: njman ie ic qujniacantiuh in Españoles, cololhujtiuj, qujtepeujtiuj, innepantla icatiuh, tlaiacac icatiuh, qujtzitzitzqujtiuj, caantiuj. Auh in onacique in tlatlatilcali: itocaiocan, teucalco: njman ie ic oalleqqujxtilo in jxqujch in petlacotl, in quetzalapane-

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[633]

[1] Cervantes de Salazar, in *Crónica de Nueva España* (México: Talleres Gráficos del Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnografía, 1936), II, Chapters XXVIIIsqq., develops this narrative with much color and detail.

[2] Governor of Tlatilulco (corresponding Spanish text).

[3] See Seler, op. cit., p. 491, n. 1.

[4] Seler (op. cit., p. 492) reads the phrase as *amo ic* [illegible]—he was not therefore ignored.

652 rived at the treasure house, called Teocalco,[5] thereupon were brought out all the brilliant goods — the quetzal feather head fan, the devices, the shields, the golden discs, the devils' necklaces, golden nose crescents, golden leg bands,[6] golden arm bands, golden head bands.

Thereupon was the gold torn from the shields and from all the devices; and as all the gold was detached, they then burned — set fire to and consumed in flames — all the various precious things [from which the gold was taken]. It all burned. And the gold the Spaniards melted into bars. And of the green stone, as much as was good to their eyes they took. And the rest of the green stone the men of Tlaxcalla stole. And [the Spaniards] walked everywhere; they went digging into every place — where things were hidden, storage rooms, where things were guarded. They took all, all which they saw to be good.

caiutl, in tlavijztli, in chimalli, in teocujtlacomalli in incozqui diablome, teucujtlaiacametztli, in teocujtlacotzcoatl, in teocujtlamatemecatl, in teocujtlaixquaamatl:

njman ie ic tlaixcoleoalo in jtech chimalli in teucujtlatl: yoan in jtech in jxquich tlavicztli: auh inic muchi omocoleuh in teucujtlatl, ie ic contlecavia, cõtlequechia, contlemjna in ixquich nepapan tlaçotli muchi tlatlac. Auh in teucujtlatl qujxaxantecaque in Españoles: auh in chalchivitl in quexquich qujqualittaque, qujcujque: auh in oc cequj chalchivitl, çan qujnamuxque in tlaxcalteca: yoan noviã nenque, qujxaqualotinenque in novian tlatlatican, tlatlatilcali, tlatlatiloian, muchi qujcujque in jxquich in qujttaque, in qujqualittaque.

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[5] The Spanish text of Chapters 16 and 17 refers to the same matter, presumably the location of the Teocalco.

[6] *Teocujtlacotzcoatl* should be read.

Eighteenth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards entered Moctezuma's princely home, and what happened there.

After this they went to Moctezuma's own store house, where were kept Moctezuma's own goods, a place called Totocalco.[1] [They acted] eager and content; they clapped one another on the back, as if happy. And on arriving, when they entered the store house, they scattered, bustling everywhere, as if greedy and covetous.[2] Thereupon were taken out the goods which were in truth [Moctezuma's] own, his exclusively, his portion, precious items all: neck bands with pendants, arm bands with tufts of quetzal feathers, golden arm bands; and bracelets, golden bands with shells to fasten at the knee, and turquoise mosaic crowns with triangular forehead pieces — the rulers' attire; and turquoise nose rods; and all the rest of his array, without number. They took it all. They possessed themselves of all, appropriated all to themselves, and took all to themselves as their own.

And after they had removed all the gold [from the raiment], when it had been torn off, they then piled up in the courtyard, in the middle of the area, all the precious feathers. And when this had been done, when all the gold had been gathered, then Marina summoned, and ordered called, all the noblemen. She got upon the roof-top, on a parapet. She said: "O Mexicans, come hither!" The Spaniards have suffered great fatigue. Bring here food, fresh water, and all which is needed. For they are already tired and exhausted; they are in need; they are spent and in want. Why do you not wish to come? It appeareth that you are angered."

But the Mexicans no longer dared go there. They were much frightened; they were weak with fear; they were terrified. Great awe spread; dread reigned.[4] No longer did one dare do anything. It was as if a fierce beast were there; as if the land lay dead. None the less, not on this account did they do nothing, nor hesitate to leave that which was needed. But they

Inje caxtolli omei capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn Españoles calaquito in jpilchan Motecuçoma: auh in tlein vmpa muchiuh.

Niman ie ic vi in vel itlatlatiaia Motecuçoma in vmpa mopia in vel itech iaxca in motecuçoma: itocaiocan Totocalco iuhqujn mocecenquetza, iuhqujn yioiolipan, iuhqujn moquequetzotzona, iuhqujn iiztaia iniollo. Auh in onacito, in oncalacque tlatlatiloian, iuhqujn tlacecemmana, novian aactivetzi, iuhqujn mjhiiultia, mjhicolia: njmã ie ic oallaqujxtilo in vel ixcoian yiaxca, in vel ineixcavil, in vel itonal, mochi tlaçotlanquj, in chaiaoac cozcatl, in machoncotl, in teucujtlamatemecatl, yoan in matzopetztli, teucujtlaicxitecuecuextli, yoan in xiuvitzolli tlatocatlatqujtl, yoã in iacaxivitl, yoan in jxqujch in oc cequj in jtlatquj in amo çan tlapoalli muchi qujcujque, moch intech compachoq̃ moch cõmotechtique, moch cõmotonaltique. 143 501

Auh in ocõcocoleuhque in jxqujch in teucujtlatl: in ontlacocoleoaloc, njman ie ic qujcentlalia itoalco, itoalnepantla in jxqujch in tlaçohivitl. Auh in ie iuhquj in omochi munechico in teucujtlatl. Njmã ie ic qujoalnotza, qujoalnenotzallanj in jxqujchtin in pipiltin in Malintzin: tlapanco oalmoquetz, atenantic-pac: Quitoa. Mexica xioalhujan ca cenca ie tlaihiovia in Españoles: xiqualcujcã in tlaqualli, in chipaoac atl, yoan in jxqujch monequj, ca ie tlaihiovia, ie qujciavi, ie qujhiovia, ie mociavi, ie mjhiovia: tleica in amo anoallaznequj? ie neci ca anqualanj.

Auh in Mexica çã njmã aocmo motlapaloaia in maquivian, cenca momauhtiaia, mauhcaçonequja mjhiçaviaia, cenca maviztli onoc, maviztli moteteca, aocac tlaxtlapaloa, ça iuhq'n tequanj vnca, ça iuhqujn tlalli mjctoc: tel amo ic mocaoa, amo ic netzotzonalo in concaoa in jxqujch intech monequj, ça in mauhcac in concaoaia, çan momamauhtiivi, ça onmomauhcatla-

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[1] See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VIII — Kings and Lords, p. [illegible].

[2] Seler, op. cit., p. [illegible], translates thus: "[illegible] (oder wie Tiere), gleichsam einander [illegible]."

[3] [illegible]: this should probably be read [illegible].

[4] [illegible]: the word is blurred in the MS.

OOO left it in fear; they ran only in dread as they went with the tribute. And as they went to lay it on the ground, all would run back; they continually shot back, [like] sparks flying.[5] [Yet] they trembled [as if] with cold.

los in ontlacaca. Auh in ocontepeoato valnetlalôlo, vallachichitoca, tlacica, tlaviviioca.

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[5] In Seler, op. cit., p. [illegible], this passage is rendered: "Und nachdem sie es auf den Boden gelegt hatten, rannten sie zurück, stoben auseinander." A note on p. [illegible] compares tlacica with tlatlacica (see Molina, op. cit.).

Nineteenth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards commanded the Mexicans to observe the Feast of Uitzilopochtli; yet this came to pass not in the presence of the Captain, for at that time he had gone to the coast where Pánfilo de Narváez had arrived.

And thereafter [Pedro de Alvarado][1] then asked, as to the Feast of Uitzilopochtli, how the festival [was celebrated]. He wished to marvel at and see how and in what manner it was done. Thereupon Moctezuma issued the command. Those of his vassals who had access to him brought forth the word.[2]

And when the behest had come forth from where Moctezuma was imprisoned, thereupon the women who had fasted for a year ground the amaranth and prickly poppy[3] seed there in the temple courtyard. The Spaniards appeared, decked with great war array; they were dressed in battle gear; bedight as warriors. They came into [the group], walked among them, encircled them, looked at each one — stared into the faces of the grinding women. And after this, when they had come to see them, they then entered the great palace. As is known, they say that at that time they would have slain them if many of us warriors should have been assembled.

And when the Feast of Toxcatl had arrived, toward sundown they began to give man's form to the body [of the amaranth seed dough image of Uitzilopochtli]. They formed it, and gave it the look and appearance of a man. And of this one they fashioned the body only of a dough of amaranth seed and of fish amaranth seed.[4] They formed him on a framework of twigs — [the framework of] Uitzil [opochtli; one laid in] angles.[5]

Injc caxtolli onnavi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles, quinnaoatique Mexica: injc quichioazque injlhujuh vitzilobuchtli: auh inin amo ixpan muchiuh in Capitan: ca iquac in vmpa ia atenco injc acico Pamphilo de narbayez. 000

Auh çatepan, njman ie ic qujtlanj in jilhujuh vitzilobuchtli, in quenamj ilhujuh, qujmaviçozneguj qujttaznequj, in quenamj, in quenjn muchioa: njmã ie ic tlanaoatia in Motecuçoma, in aqujque vel oconcalaquj itechiuhcaoan, qujoalqujxtiaia in tlatolli.

Auh in ovalqujz tlatolli in vmpa caltzacutica motecuçoma: njman ie ic qujteci in oauhtli chicalutl in cioa, mocexiuhçauhque, vncã in teuitoalco, oalquizque in Españoles, cenca omocecencauhq̃ in jca iautlatqujtl, moiauchichiuhque, moqujchchichiuhque, intlan qujqujça, intzalan qujqujça, qujniaiavaloa, qujncecemjtta, imjxco tlatlachia in teci cioa. Auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmonjttaco, njmã ie ic calaquj in vei tecpan, iuh machiztic: qujlmach iquac temjctizquja intla mjec tlacatl cenqujçani toqujchtin. 796

Auh in ie oacic ilhujtl in toxcatl, teutlacpa in qujpeoaltia in qujtlacatilia in jnacaio, qujtlacatlaliaia, qujtlacatlachieltiaia, qujtlacanextia. Auh inin qujnacaiotiaia çan tzoalli, ie in mjchioauhtzoalli, tlacopepechpan in qujtlaliaia, ie in vitzitzillacutl, yoã nacaztlacutl. 796 778

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[1] Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

[2] Cf. J.-M.-A. Aubin: Histoire de la nation mexicaine . . . reproduction du Codex de 1576 (Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, 1893), pp. [illegible], where the narrative of the Conquest contains a different version.

[3] Chicalotl: cf. Hernández, op. cit., III, pp. [illegible] (chicallotl o espino; "cardo," Argemone mexicana L.); Santamaría, op. cit., I, p. [illegible] (chicalote); Standley, op. cit., p. [illegible] (common Argemone of Mexico); Cecile Hulse Matschat: Mexican Plants for American Gardens (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935), pp. 137-138 (poppy family — Argemone grandiflora).

[4] Seler, in Einige Kapitel, p. 101, n. 1, citing Sahagún, III, 1, §2, identifies michihuauhtli as chicalotl. See also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — The Ceremonies, p. 68.

[5] Personal communication from Mgr. Angel María Garibay and Byron McAfee, Nov., 1954: "Y a este le hacían su cuerpo con bledos, con bledos de chicalote (Argemone mexicana, sp. Lehmann). En un armazón de varas lo ponían: es el armazón de Huitzil(opochtli), y el armazón de espinas." These authorities explain: [illegible] Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 68; Sahagún (Robredo ed.), I, p. 137, or Sahagún (Acosta S. ed.), I, p. 153.

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And when he had already taken shape, then they pasted his head with feather down and made his diagonally-striped face painting, and [gave him] his serpent ear plug of glued turquoise [mosaic]. And from the serpent ear plugs hung the circlet of thorns, [made of] gold, with toes — cut in the form of toes. And his nose rod [was] arrow[-shaped]; of beaten gold [was it] wrought and set with stones. It was shaped of metal plate painted as if with stones. Likewise from it hung what was called the thorn circlet, painted with diagonal stripes. Thus was it diagonally striped: on it were [alternating] blue and yellow [bands]. And upon his head stood his humming bird disguise. Then there was, besides, what was named *anecuyotl*, [his headdress] of featherwork, round, a little narrow and pointed at its base. [237] After that they placed upon the back of his head the ball of yellow parrot feathers, from which hung his child's lock of hair. And [he had] his cape of stinging nettles,[6] colored black, in five places ornamented with feathers — with eagle down. It was wrapped about him. And below, he was wrapped in his cape with severed heads and bones; and above, he was [532] wrapped, also, in his jerkin painted with the limbs and members [of men] — all painted there with severed heads, ears, hearts, entrails, livers, lungs, and prints of the hand and the foot. And [he was given] a breech clout. Only the breech clout was very finely wrought. And its design was also the limbs and members [of men; it was] so woven. [289] But his large [breech clout was][7] only of paper; it was of white paper,[8] one fathom wide and twenty long, with a design painted on it in blue. And as for the blood banner with the flint knife at the point: his blood banner was only of paper, painted red, as if [striped] with blood. And the flint knife at the point was likewise only of paperwork, and also similarly painted — colored as if with blood. And his shield, which he carried, was of reedwork; [it was] a shield of coarse reeds decorated in four places with feathers —

Auh in ie utlacat, njmã qujquapotonja, yoan qujchioa, ixtlĩ tlatlaan, yoan icoanacochxiuitl in tlaçalolli: auh in jcoanacoch itech pipilcac in vitznaoaiotl, teucujtlatl xoxopiltic, tlaxoxopiltectli, yoã yiacapilol, mjtl: Teucujtlatl in tlachiuhtli, tlatzotzontli, yoan tlateantli, tlacanaoalli, tlateicujlolli: no itech pilcaia moteneoa vitznaoaiutl, ixtlan tlatlaan: injc ixtlan tlatlaan, vncan icac texutli, yoan têcuxtli yoã icpac conquetza ivitzitzilnaoal: njmã contoqujlia, itoca anecuiutl, hivitl in tlachichioalli, mjmjltic, achitzin vitztic, achi tzimpitzaoac: njmã ie ic in tozpololli icuexcochtlan in contlalilia itech pilcac tziuhcuexpalli, yoã itzitzicaztilma, tlatlilpalli: macujlcan in tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, qujmololotica, yoan in jtilma in tlanj qujmoquentia, tzotzontecomaio, oomjcallo: auh in panj qujmolpilia, yoan ixicul: injc tlacujlolli tlaquaquallo, ca much vncã icujliuhtoc in tzontecomatl, nacaztli, iollotli, cujtlaxculli eltapachtli, tochichi, macpalli, xocpalli, yoan imaxtli: çan in maxtlatl, vellaçotlanquj: auh in jtlamachio injc no tlaquaquallo injc tlaqujttli: auh in jvei[maxtli] çan amatl ichoatl in quaoamatl, injc patlaoac cemmatl: auh injc viac cempoalli, injc tlacujlolli texoacaxilquj, auh injquezpan qujmamanticatca iacatecpaio: in jezpan çan amatl catca, tlapalli injc tlacujlolli, injc tlaezicujlolli: iacatecpaio, çan no amatl in tlachioalli, çan no iuhquj injc tlacujlolli, tlaezicujlolli, yoan ichimal ictica otlatl in tlachioalli, otlachimalli, nauhcan tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, hivichachapanquj, moteneoa: Tevevelli, auh chimalpaio, çan no iuhquj in ezpanjtl injc tlacujlolli: yoan navi imjuh ic qujcentzitzquja in jchimal yoan iopochmacuex imacpilcac, coiotomjtl in tlavipantli, yoan itech pilcatica amatl tlaxoxotlalli.

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6. Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391, translates as *ortiga* (*Urtica* sp.?); on pp. 388-390 he mentions seven kinds: four are *Urtica* sp.; others are *Urtica dioica* var. *angustifolia*; [illegible] Kunth Choisy ("*quemadora*," "*ortiga*"); and *W. urens* H. B. K. ("*ortiga de tierra caliente*"). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496, writes of *chichicaztle*: "*la ortiga americana. . . . La especie principal es la Jatropha urens* L. . . . *En Méjico, planta herbácea, semitrepadora, común en las tierras cálida y templada*" (*Mikania deltoidea, Eupatorium deltoideum*). Also, "*Planta urticácea, llamada también ortiga, mal hombre, mala mujer, quemador, chichicastillo, tlachinole, en Méjico.*" See also Maximino Martínez: *Las plantas medicinales de México* (México: Ediciones Botas, 1933), pp. 414-415 — *chichicaztli* (*Urera caracasana* [Jacq.] Griseb.).

7. In the MS, a blank follows *jvei*. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 508, has supplied *-amatl*. Reference to the description of this ceremony in Book II, however, suggests that the omission is *-maxtli*.

8. In Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), p. 60, *cuauh-amatl* is given as "coarse, thickly fibered paper, more difficult to fashion than the fig tree variety"; from bull's horn acacia (*Acacia cornigera*). On the other hand, a note in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), V, p. 231, reads: "*la materia suministrada por la capa de líber de algunos árboles del género ficus. Servía de papel para las pinturas o los libros, y de tela para hacer los adornos, vestidos y otros objetos que el culto de los dioses requería.*"

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called *teueuelli*. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyoc. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[9] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held sway. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

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Auh in otlatvic in ie ilhujuh ipan, in ioatzinco ie ic qujxtlapoa in jvic monetoltia, ixpan oncenpanti qujtlenamaqujlia, ixpan qujmana in izqujcan ventli in tlacatlaqualli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo qujtlecavique, aocmo cacoqujxtique in itepeioc: auh in ixqujch tlacatl in telpopochtequjoaque iuhqujn neoccēquetzalo, iuhqujn in ioiolipā in jlhujtlazque, in ilhujtlamatizque, injc qujntlattitizque, qujntlamaviçoltizq̄, qujntlaixtlatizque, in Españoles:

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa itztiova in teuitoalco, injc vmpa necocololoz. Auh in ocecenqujxoac: njmā ie ic peoalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cujco yoan necocololoz. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocexiuhçauhque nepan jxtinemj: in tetzaqua imoocoquauh, in aqujn qujçaznequj ic qujtlaiciecalhuja in ocoquavitl: auh in aqujn maxixaz qujtlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iaztaxel. Auh in aqujn çan njman atlatlacamati, in amo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic qujcujtlavitequj, qujmetzvitequj, caculhujtequj, calticpa contopeoa, conchiccanaoa, conjxiquetza, mjhixiquetztiuh, nanacazitztiuh aiac temacuaoati: 796 778 535 [785] [252] 5/4] [628]

cenca ichoā tlamamauhtiaia, tlamauhtiaia, cemjmacaxoa, cemjmacaxtincatca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocexiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiacatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel qujçaia, amo qujntzacujliaia: auh in ie ixqujch telputzintli, in cuexpaltzine in cuexpaltzitzineque, yoan in tzotzocoleque, in tepallamanj, in yiaque: in motenenoa in telpuchiaque, in ce ic nemj, in oc cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj no qujntzaquaia: qujmjlhujaia, vmpa xiviā on nocne, anqujteittitia, amo techitto. [785] [302]

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[9] Twenty is repeated in the MS.

[p. 52 is blank]

796 778 Twentieth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards[1] slew and destroyed the Mexicans who were celebrating the Feast of Uitzilopochtli in the place called the Temple Courtyard.

726 And after this, when already the feast was taking place, all were dancing and singing, and there was song with dance. The song roared.

When now it was time, and the moment was opportune for the Spaniards to slay them, then they issued forth girt for battle; they came to block everywhere the ways leading out and in, [called] Quauhquiauac, Tecpantzinco, Acatl yiacapan, and Tezcacoac.[2] And when they had closed them off and also various [other] places, [the people] were contained, [so that] nowhere could they get out.

And this having been done, they then entered the temple courtyard to slay them. They whose task it was to kill them went only afoot, each with [his] leather shield, some with their iron-studded shields, and each with iron sword. Then they surrounded those who danced whereupon they went among the drums. Then they struck the arms of the one who beat the drums; they severed both his hands, and afterwards struck his neck, [so that] his neck [and head] flew off, falling far away. Then they pierced them all with iron lances, and they struck each with the iron swords. Of some they slashed open the back, and then their entrails gushed out. Of some, they split the head; they hacked their heads to pieces; their heads were completely cut up. And of some they hit the shoulder; they split open and cut their bodies to pieces. Some they struck in the shank; some on the thigh. Of some, they struck the belly, and then their entrails streamed forth. And when one in vain would run, he would only drag his entrails like something raw, as he tried to flee. Nowhere could he go. And one who tried to go out, there they struck and pierced him.

But some climbed the wall, and so succeeded in taking flight. Some entered the various tribal temples, and there escaped. And some eluded [the

Injc cempoalli capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Espanoles qujnmjctique, qujmjxtlatique in Mexica, in qujlhujqujxtiliaia Vitzilobuchtli in vncã mjtoaia Teuitoalco.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ie ilhujtlamacho, in ie netotilo in ie cujco, in ie cujcoanolo: in cujcatl, iuhqujn xaxamacatimanj.

In ie inmã, in otlainmantic injc temjctizque in Españoles: njman ie ic oalqujça omoiauchichiuhque, ocontzatzaquaco, in jxqujcampa qujxoaia, calacoaia, in quauhqujiaoac tecpantzinco, acatl yiacapan, Tezcacoac. Auh in ocõtzatzacque: no izqujcã momanque, aocac vel hoalqujça.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic calaquj in teuitoalco in temjctizque: in intequjuh in temjctique çan tlacxipãvia imecvachimal, cequj intotopchimal, yoan intetepuzmaquauh: njman ie ic qujnjaoaloa in mjtotia, njmã ie ic vi in vevetitlan, njmã qujmavitecque in tlatzotzona oalcocoton vmexti in jmacpal çatepan qujquechvitecque veca vetzito in jquech: njmã ie muchintin texixili tepuztopiltica, yoan teviviteque tepuzmaquauhtica: cequjntin qujncujtlaço. njman valmotoxaoa in incujtlaxcol, cequjntin qujnquatzatzaianque, vel qujtzeltilique in intzontecon, vel itzeltix in intzõtecõ. Auh in cequjntin qujmaculhujtecque, oalcacamatlapan, oaltzatzaian in innacaio: cequjntin qujncotzvivitecque, cequjn qujnmetzvivitecque, cequjntin qujmjtivitecque, njmã moch oalmotoxaoa in incujtlaxcul. Auh in aca oc nen motlaloa in jcujtlaxcul, ça qujvilana, iuhqujn xoxoqujova in momaqujxtiznequj, aoc campa vel huj: auh in aqujn qujçaznequj, vmpa qujoalhujtequj, qujvalxixili.

Auh cequjntin, tepantli qujtlecavique, vel huel momaqujxtiq̃: cequjntin calpulco cacalacque vmpa momaqujxtique. Auh in cequjntin intlan momaq'x-

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[1] In the Codex, the title is omitted.

[2] These were, respectively, the south gate of the main temple square (see map) to the Iztapalapan road; the west gate to the Tlacopan road; and, probably, the north and east gates.—Caso, *Barrios antiguos*.

726 Spaniards] among [the dead]; they went in among those who had died, only feigning death, and were able to escape. But one who stirred, when they saw him, they pierced.

And the blood of the chieftains ran like water; it spread out slippery, and a foul odor rose from the blood. And the entrails lay as if dragged out. And the Spaniards walked everywhere, searching in the tribal temples; they went making thrusts everywhere in case someone were hidden there. Everywhere they went, ransacking every tribal temple as they hunted.

And when [all this] became known, there then was a shout: "O chieftains! O Mexicans! Hasten here! Let all prepare the devices, shields, and arrows! Come! Hasten here! Already the chieftains have died; they have been put to death, destroyed, shattered, O Mexicans, O chieftains!" Thereupon arose an outcry, a shouting, a shrieking with hands striking the lips. Quickly the chieftains marshaled themselves; as if working with a will they brought the
[41] arrows and shields. Then the fray joined. They shot at them with barbed arrows, spears, and tridents, and they loosed darts with broad, obsidian points at them. It was as if a [mass of] deep yellow reeds spread over the Spaniards.

tique, intlan cacalacque in ovelmjcque, çan momjcanenequja, vel momaquijxtique: auh in aca oc mopoçaoa in conjtta, conjxili.

Auh in jmezço in tiacavan iuhqujn atl ic totocac, iuhqujn aalacatoc, yoan xoqujiac coatoc in eztli. Auh in cujtlaxcolli iuhqujn tlavilanj. Auh in Españoles, novian nemj in tlatemoa in calpulco, novian ontlaxiltivi in tlatemoa, in açaca vmpa mjnaia, novia nenque, qujxaqualotinenque in izqujcan calpulco in tlatemoque.

Auh in omachoc, njman ie ic tzatzioa. Tiacavane mexicae vallatotoca, ma nechichioalo in tlaviztli, in chimalli, in mjtl, vallacivi, vallatotoca, ie mjquj in tiacaoan: ommjcque, onjxpoliuhque, ommjxtlatique: Mexicae tiacaoane. Njmã ie ic tlacavaca, ie ic tzatzioa, netenviteco, iciuhca valnechicaovac in tiacavan iuhqujn neceencquetzalo in mjtl in chimalli qujitquj. Njmã ie ic necalioa, qujmõmjna in jca tlatzontectli, in jca tlacochtli, yoan in mjnacachalli, yoan in tlatzontectli, itzpatlacio in co. .iaça: iuhqujn cozpul conmotecca in acatl, in impan Españoles.

Twenty-first Chapter. Here is told [how] war first began, when the Mexicans gave battle to the Spaniards here in Mexico.

And the Spaniards fortified themselves. And the Spaniards also shot at the Mexicans with iron arrows, and fired the guns at them. And then they put Moctezuma in irons.

And all the chieftains who had died [in the temple courtyard] were thereupon taken out and brought forth, and identified. And the mothers and fathers raised a cry of weeping; all wept over them; there was wailing. First they took them to their homes. Later they carried them to the temple courtyard, brought them together there, and burned them together there at the place called Quauhxicalco.[1] But some [were] burned only at the various young men's houses.

And when the sun was about to enter his house, [but] a little sun still [shone], thereupon Itzquauhtzin cried out; on the [palace] roof-top, he called out and spoke: "O Mexicans, O men of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco, your ruler, the lord of men, Moctezuma, beseecheth you and saith: 'Let the Mexicans hear! We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]![2] Let [the battle] be abandoned! Let the arrow and shield be stilled! Unhappy [are] the poor old men and women, the common folk, those not yet of understanding — who toddle, who crawl, who lie placed in cradles or on [cradle] boards, those yet untrained!' For this reason doth your ruler say: 'We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]; may [the strife] cease' — because they have shackled him; they have had irons placed on his feet!"

And when he had said this, then they raised a clamor and chid him. The Mexicans became more and more enraged. One, much inflamed by anger, said: "What saith Moctezuma, O fool? [Art thou] not one of his warriors?"[3] Whereupon there was

Injc cempoalli oce capitulo: vncan mjtoa iancujcan peuh iauiotl, injc qujmjcalque Mexica in Españoles in njcan mexico. 726

Auh in ichoantin Españoles: njman valmotepetlatzatzacque. Auh in Españoles no qujnvalmjna in Mexica in jca tepuzmjtl, yoan ic qujnvalmotla in tlequjqujztli. Auh njman tepuztli contlatlalilique in Motecuçoma:

auh in jxqujchtin tiacavan in omjcque: njmã ie ic 764 tequjxtilo, teçaçaco, teiiximacho. Auh in tenanvan in tetaoan tlachoqujztleoa techoqujlilo, nechoqujlilo, oc inchachan qujnvicaca, çatepan qujnoalhujcaque in teuitvalco, qujncentlalique: vmpa qujncentlatique, cecnj in jtocaiocan: Quauhxicalco. Auh in cequjntin tlatlaque çan tetelpuchcali.

Auh in ie oncalaqujz tonatiuh, in oc achiton tona- 648 tiuh: njman ie ic valtzatzi in Jtzquauhtzin, tlapanco valtzatzi: qujoalito. Mexicae, tenuchcae, tlatilulcae, amechtlatlauhti in amotlatocauh, in Tlacatecutli in Motecuçoma: qujoalitoa. Ma qujcaqujcan in Mexica, ca amo titenamjcvan, ma motlacavaltican, ma momana in mjtl in chimalli, motolinja in jcnoveve, in jcnoilama in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in aiamo qujmati in moquequetza, in movilana, in coçultentoc, in vapaltentoc, in aiamo qujmomachitia: ipampa conjtoa in amotlatocauh. Camo titenamjcvan, ma netlacaoaltilo, ca ocontepuzxiotique, tepuztli icxic ocontlatlalilique:

Auh in oconjto in, njmã ie ic conchachalatza, conaoa, çan ie ilhujce tlavelcuj in Mexica qualanj, ce ilhujce poçonj: conjlhuja. Tlein qujoalitoa Motecuçoma nocne? amo ce yioqujchoan? Njmã ie ic tlacaoatz, niman ic maaxtimoquetz in tlacaoaca:

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1. Four places named Quauhxicalco, in the temple square, are mentioned in Book II — *The Ceremonies*, pp. 168, 170, 171.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*porq̃ estos hombres son muy fuertes mas que nosotros.*"

3. *Ibid.*: "*Que dize el puto de Motecuçoma? Y tu vellaco con el, no cessaremos la guerra.*" *Nocne*: literally, "my blood."

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648 an outcry, and then the tumult rose and spread. Thereafter arrows fell upon the roof-top. But the Spaniards sheltered Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin under their shields lest the Mexicans pierce them with the arrows.

For this reason were the Mexicans in great wrath: because [the Spaniards] had completely destroyed the chieftains [in the Temple Courtyard]; without warning, they had slain them by treachery.[4]

726 Not yielding to force of arms, [the Mexicans] surrounded the palace. They watched various places that none might enter it secretly — that none might in stealth take in tortillas. Hence, at once was stayed all which they had been receiving; forthwith they left no more. In this way they would starve them.[5]

And as for those who would in vain advise [the besieged], or gain merit by secretly giving [one of them] a little food, if they were seen or detected, they then and there slew them. They killed them on the spot. They either struck them on the back of the head, or they stoned them.

At one time some Mexicans were seen carrying in furs. These let word fall that through them some had secretly gone in. Therefore all were strictly commanded that every road and canal be well guarded and watched; that all take great care in [482] the watching. And those who took in the furs [were] carriers,[6] the emissaries of the stewards of Ayotzintepec and Chinantla. Then and there they breathed their last; their work dropped; at the canal they struck them on the back of the head with wooden clubs.[7] Those of Tenochtitlan had only quarreled among themselves, and quite in confusion had seized the carriers. They said: "Surely he is one [of them]!" Then they put him to death. And if they noted someone [wearing] his fine crystal lip rod, then they quickly seized and killed him. They said: "Surely this one also walketh entering within, to serve food to Moctezuma." And if they saw someone who had tied on himself the maguey fiber cape[8] of a carrier, him also they quickly seized. They said: "This one also is a brute who goeth bearing evil tales, and letteth them in to see Moctezuma."

njmā ic ic onvetzi in mjtl in tlapanco. Auh in Motecuçomatzin yoan Itzquauhtzi, qujnchimalcaltia in Españoles in ma qujnmjnti in Mexica.

Inic cenca qualanque in Mexica: ichica ca vel qujmjxtlatique in tiacaoan in ainnemachpan in qujnpoloenjctique,

in amo ivivi ic concauhque qujiaoalotinemj in tepancalli: tlatlapia in açaca onjchtacacalaquj, in açaca conjchtacacalaquja tlaxcalli, çan njman ic ommotzacu in jxqujch in omacoia, çan njmā aocac tle concaoaia: iuhqujn qujncujtlaoatzque.

Auh in aqujque oc nen xonexcaia, tlamatzoaia, motlamaceviaia, in ichtacatzin cōmacaia in tlaqualtzintli: intla oittoque, intla oittaloque, njman vncā qujnmjctia, vncan qujntlatlatia, aço qujncuexcochviteguj, anoço qujntetepachoa.

Cequjntin mexica ceppa ittaloque, qujcalaqujaia totomjtl: ichoantin tlanexotlaque, inca cequjntin oncalaquj ichtaca, ic cenca netlaquauhnaoatiloc injc vellapieloz, vel mopiaz in jxquj vtli yoan in jxquj acalutli, vel necujtlaviloa vel ixpialoia. Auh in qujcalaqujaia totomjtl tequjtque intlaivalhoā in calpixque aiotzintepecatl yoan chinantecatl: njman vncan ihiotl qujz, njmā vncā intequjuh vetz, acaloco in qujmōcuexcochviviteque, vitzantica, çan monetechvia in tenuchca, yoan çan jlivis in qujntzitzquja in tequjtque, qujtoaia. Ca ichoatl in: njmā ic conmjctia. Auh intla aca conjttaia ichopilotenteuh: njman qujcujtivetzi, conmjctia: qujtoa, ca no ichoatl in oncalactinemj in contlatlamaca in Motecuçoma: yoan intla aca qujtta, qujmolpilia tequitcaaiatl, no qujcujtivetzi, qujtoa: ca no ichoatl in tlapalpul, in tetzauhtlatolli qujtqujtinemj, cōcalaquja, in conjtta motecuçoma.

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[4] For [illegible] read [illegible].

[5] Literally, "they dried their entrails."

[6] Corresponding Spanish text: "los servidores o pajes de Motecuçoma."

[7] [illegible] read [illegible].

[8] Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible]."

And he who in vain would save himself, implored and said to them: "What do you do, O Mexicans? I am not [the one]." They answered him: "Thou art [one of them] also, O fool; [art thou] not a carrier?" Then and there they slew him. They only [continued] to guard the people; they went about cautious of others. Their eyes and concern were only to guard the Mexicans. Many they punished for imagined [evil], those who perished without warning, whom they punished not for their own crime.

And still other carriers hid and sheltered themselves. No more were they to be seen; they showed themselves to no one; no longer would they come forth to the people. They were in great fright, swooning with fear. They lived hidden, lest they fall into the people's hands.

And when they laid siege to the Spaniards, for only seven days did they join battle with them in their quarters. And for twenty-three days they were shut in. And for as many days, the canals were dredged, widened, deepened, and made precipitous. Everywhere the canals were made dangerous and difficult. And on the roads, in various places, they erected barriers, laid walls, and placed ramparts. Passages between houses were made dangerous.

And when this had taken place[9] —

Auh in oc nen momaqujxtizneguj, in qujntlatlauhtia quimjlhuja. Tle amai mexicae, camono nehoatl: conjlhuja, ca no tehoatl nocne, amo titequjtquj: njman ic vncan cõmjctia ça teixpipia, ça motecujtlavitinemj, ça imjx intequjuh, ça tepipia in mexica: ca mjequjntin in tlapictli qujtzacutiaque in jxpopoiomjctiloque in amo vel intlatlacul qujtzacutiaque. 726

Auh in oc cequjnti tequjtque motlatique, mjnaxque, aocmo moteittitiaia, aocmo motenextiliaia, aocmo tevic qujçaia, cenca momauhtiaia, mauhcaçonequja, mjinaxtinenca, injc amo temac vetzizque.

Auh in jquac oqujncaltzacque in Españoles: çan 723
chicomjlhujtl in qujncalicalque. Auh in caltzacu- 726
ticatca cempoalilhujtl omei: auh izqujlhujtl in, in acalotli motatatacac, mopapatlauh, movevecatlano, motetepexiq̃tz novian movicantlali, moovitili in acalotli: Auh in vtli ipã, netetenantiloc, tenamjtl motetecac, netetenpantlaliloc, mooviujcantlali in caltzalãtli:

auh in ie iuhquj.

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[9] Chapter 21 may end with an interruption completed in the beginning of Chapter 22. Angel María Garibay (*Historia de la literatura náhuatl*, II, p. 250), however, identifies the break as one of several lacunae. See also the ending of Chapter 33.

[p. 58 is blank]

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000 Twenty-second Chapter. Here is told how it became known that the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés, was coming, and that he was returning to Mexico.

—it became known that the Captain now was coming from Tepeyacac.[1] He had set forth bringing with him many Spaniards, and a great number of men of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla—many of them, large numbers, an abundance, a teeming multitude, a great host. Not only [in numbers] were they coming, [but] they came to war; they came with devices, in war array, [with] their shields, obsidian-bladed swords, and wooden clubs borne upon their shoulders. They came stirring up a column of dust, [so that] their faces were covered and ashen with dust. They were caked with earth—clothed in dust, in much earth, [which] flaked off. In haste they ran and hurried here. They said, as they went: "Come along, O men of Tlaxcalla! O men of Cempoalla!"

723 And the Mexicans determined among themselves that thereafter they would not be seen, but would hide and conceal themselves. As if the earth lay dead, they would speak aloud no more, [but] only remain spying out of entrances, openings in walls, and holes which in some measure they had pierced through walls, through which they could look out. Only those who had [houses] by the roadside—those along the edge of the road—could do so. But those who were among houses could not. [For] if the Spaniards had seen how many chieftains there were in some places, marshaled together, they would have thought in their hearts that the Mexicans would begin, start, and initiate the war.

And after this, [Cortés] went to and entered the palace; whereupon they shot off the guns.[2]

726 And when this had taken place, then [the Mexicans] came forth intent upon battle. Thereupon there were [war] cries and there was fighting; the fray was then joined; there was battle. Arrows and rocks fell upon the Spaniards.[3]

Injc cempoalli omume capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn machiztico in ie vitz capitan don hernãdo Cortes injc oalmocuepaia mexico.

In omachiztico in ie vitz in Capitan tepeiacacpa in qujçaco, mjequjntin in qujnoalhujcac in Españoles yoan cenca mjequjntin in tlaxcalteca yoã in cempoalteca vel mjequjntin vel ixachin, vel ixachintin, vel tonac, vel tonaque: amo çan iuh vallaque, valiauiaque, valmotlaviztitiaque, valmoiauchichiuhtiaque, inchichimal, inmamaquauh, inmamavitzoc quiquequequechotivitze, teuhtli qujoalqujtztiaque, omach iixtlaliuhque omach yixteneziuhque, omach moca tlalloaque, omach teteuhqujmjliuhque, ça moca tlaltin, omach cocoxtlaloaq̃ cenca oalmotlaloa, cenca oalhujcinj, motzatzatzilitivi: qujtotivi, vallatotoca tlaxcalteca, cempoalteca.

Auh in Mexica monaoatique, injc amo qujn mottitinque, çã motlatizque, mjnaiazque, iuhqujn tlalli mjctimotecac, aocac naoati, tel hoallachielotoc in tlatzacujlcamac, yoan tepancamac, yoan tlacoiocco achi qujcocoionjque in tepantli, injc vmpa ontlachie: çan iehoan in otenoaque, in otentli qujtocatoque in juh qujchiuhque: auh in calnepantla onoque amo iuh qujchiuhque. Auh intla qujmjttanj in cana quexquichtin manj, tepeuhtimanj, in tiacaoan, ca iniol iuh tlamatizquja in Españoles, ca in mexica iehoan qujpeoaltia, iehoan qujtzintia, iehoan inpeoal in iauiotl.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ocalaqujto vei tecpan: njman ie ic qujtlatlaça in tlequjquiztli:

auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic oalquiça qujoaliztia in mjcaliznque: njmã ie ic tlacaoaca, ie ic necalioa, njmã ie ic muchioa in iauiotl, njman ie ic tlaiecolo onvetzi in mjtl, in tetl, in impan Espanoles.

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[1] Tepeyacac: presumably not the site north of Tenochtitlan, but one between it and Tlaxcalla.

[2] Corresponding Spanish text: "comenzaron a soltar todos los tiros en alegría de los que venían llegando, y para atemorizar a los contrarios."

[3] The title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

726 But the Spaniards shot iron bolts and guns. Many men were pierced by the arrows and shot by the guns. The crossbowmen aimed the bolts to good purpose; they sighted well along the bolt upon whom they would pierce. And the iron bolts, when they went, seemed to fly humming and whizzing; great was their whirring. And not purposelessly did the arrows fly. All struck and pierced people through. And the guns were well trained upon and aimed at the people. And when [the shots] struck, all went down stretched out on the ground, extended like sleeping-mats. Without one's knowing, it struck one; without warning, it slew one. As many as they hit, so many died,[4] when they struck vital spots—perhaps the forehead, or the back of the head, or the heart, or the breast, or the belly, or the abdomen. But if they struck only the thigh or the shoulder, they did not then die. They were not endangered, but would recover. And when the Mexicans saw how the gun [shots] and iron bolts struck, they went from side to side, as if back and forth, hither and thither. They kept good watch and observed carefully.

And when there had been battle for four days, then [some] chieftains climbed up—selected and chosen ones, who possessed devices, in whose faces was war. All went up to the top of the [pyramid] temple. They carried up two beams and many rounded oak logs, called the god's wood, which they carried up in order to cast them down [on the foe].

And after them climbed the Spaniards; they mounted the [pyramid] temple. The Spaniards[5] proceeded in squadrons and in files. Ahead went the arquebusiers, who climbed up very deliberately, not massed. They advanced firing the arquebuses and thus loosing shots. Second went the crossbowmen, the archers using iron bolts. Third went the swordsmen. Fourth went the lancers, the halberdiers.

And the chieftains in vain marshaled themselves to cast the wood, the thick oak logs, down upon the Spaniards. They only fended them off with their shields at once and took no heed [of them]. And when the Spaniards had reached the summit, they thereupon struck, pierced, and stabbed [the foe]. And the chieftains, on this, threw themselves to the

Auh in ichoãtin Españoles: qujoallaça in tepuzmjtl, yoan in tlequjquiztli, mjec tlacatl mjnaloc yoan tlequjqujzviloc: in tlatepuztlavitolhujanj, vel qujtacatzitta in mjtl, vel ipan qujtlachialtia in mjtl in aqujn qujmjnaz: auh in tepuzmjtl injc iauh iuhqujn qujqujnacatiuh, iuhqujn çoçolocatiuh, cenca çolonj: auh atle çan nen qujça in mjtl, moch temjna, mochi nalqujça in teitic: yoan in tlequjqujztli, vel tepan qujiacatia, vel tepan contlachialtia. Auh in jquac vetzi, vellaltitech viloa, vellaltitech mopacholo, iuhqujn pepechtli neteco, amo tenemachpan in tepã iauh, amo qujteimachitia in temjctia, in quezqui ipan iauh vel izquj mjquj: in jquac imovican vetzi, in aço imjxquac, in anoço incuexcochtlan, anoço iniollopan, anoço imelchiqujpan, anoço imjtipan, in anoço vel inxillan: auh intla çan ĩmetzpan, anoço imacolpan vetzi, amo njmã ic mjquj, amo ic oviti, çan tel vmpati. Auh in oqujttaq̃ mexica in juh vetzi tlequjqujztli yoan in tepuzmjtl, ça avic vivi, iuhqujn intlapalhujuj, tlatlaxtlapaloa cenca vel motlachielia, vel mjmati.

Auh in ie iuh navilhujtl necalico: in tiacaoan tlecoque, ichoan in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlavicequé, in jmjxco ca iauiotl, muchintin tlecoque in jcpac teucalli, vme vepantli qujtlecavjca, yoan mjec in aoaquavitl, mjmjmjltic, itoca, teuquavitl in qujtlecavique, in impan qujoallaçazquja.

Auh njmã ie ic tleco in Españoles qujtlecavia in teucalli, tlatlamãtitivi, cuecuentitivi in Espanoles: tlaiacantivi in matlequjqujceque, cencã tlamach in tleco, amo mamana, qujtlaztivi in matlequjqujztli, ic tlamotlativi, tlaĉcaiotitivi, in tepuztlavitoloanj, in tlatepuzmjvianj, tlaiecaiotia in tepuzmaquaveque, in tlanauhcaiotitivi, tepuztopileque, tzinacãtopileque.

Auh in tiacaoan oc nen valmomamanaia in qujoallaça quavitl, in tomaoac aoaquavitl in impã Españoles: çan qujchimaltopeoa, ç... njman aoc tle onicvat. Auh in opanvetzito in Españoles: njmã ie ic teviviteqũj, yoan texixili, tetzotzopitza. Auh in tiacaõ njman ie ic valmotepeoa in jtlamamatlaioc teucalli, iuhqujn tlilazcatl valmotepeoa. Auh in Espa-

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[4] Corresponding Spanish text: "tiravan los españoles todos sus tiros (tiro?) muy certeros que nadie herravan tiro que no matase con el."

[5] The title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

landings of the temple [pyramid];[6] like black ants they tumbled down. And the Spaniards[7] hurled indeed all of them from the temple [pyramid]; none then escaped. And when they had come from dealing death, thereupon [the Spaniards] entered [the palace] and quickly barricaded themselves.

And this happened during the hour of eating.

And when this had come to pass, then it was made known to the people, and [the dead] were taken forth; and when all who had been cast from the temple [pyramid] had been taken out, then all were burned at the various young men's houses.[8]

nolos vel mochintin quimmotzcalhuique in jnquichtin 726
tlecoca in tiiacaoan, vel mochintin motzcalhujque, njman aocac maquiz. Auh in ontemjctico, njman ie ic calacq valmotzatzacutivetzque.

Auh inin mochiuh ic tlaqualizpan: 264
auh in ic iuhquj njmã ic ic teiximacho, teçaçaco: 764
auh in ic muchintin oçacoque in motzcalhujq, njmã ic ic tetlatilo in tetelpuchcali.

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6. See Pl. 83.

7. The ditto is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y llegando [illegible] comenzaron a herir y matar a los que estaban arriba, y muchos dellos se despeñaron por el [illegible], finalmente todos murieron los que [illegible] los españoles a su fuerte y barrearonse muy bien. Los [illegible] a los que allí murieron porque todos eran gente principal y de mucha valía en la guerra."

[p. 62 is blank]

COO Twenty-third Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma and a great nobleman of Tlatilulco had died, and how [the Spaniards] had cast their bodies out before the gate — before the gate of the dwelling in which the Spaniards were.

And when four days had passed since all [the chieftains] had been hurled from the [pyramid] temple, [the Spaniards] came out and cast forth [the bodies of] Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin, who had died,[1] at the water's edge at a place called Teoayoc. [532] For here was a carved stone image of a tortoise;[2] like a tortoise was the representation in stone.

764 And when they were seen and recognized as being 643 Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin, they then took up Moctezuma in their arms and carried him there to a place called Copulco.[3] Thereupon they laid him on a pyre and then kindled and set fire to it. After this, the flames blazed up; it was as if they roared, as the fire formed tongues which rose like tassels of fire. And Moctezuma's body seemed to lie sizzling, and it smelled foul as it burned.

Injc cempoalli vmei Capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, yoan ce vei pilli tlatilulco mjtque: auh in innacaio qujvallanque iqujiacaioc in calli in vncan catca Españoles.

Auh ic iuh navilhujtl netecucalhujloc in qujmontlaçaco in Motecuçoma, yoan Itzquauhtzin, omjcque, atêco itocaiocan, Teoaioc: ca vncan catca in jxiptla aiotl, tetl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn aiotl ipan mjxeuhtica in tetl.

Auh in oittoque, in oiximachoque in ca ie Motecuçomatzin, yoan Itzquauhtzin: in Motecuçomatzin njman qujoalnapalotiqujaque, qujoalhujcaque in vncan itocaiocan Copulco: njman ie ic qujquaqauhtlapachoa, njman ie ic contlemjna, contlequechia: njman ie ic cuecuetlaca in tletl, iuhqujn tetecujca, iuhqujn nenenepiloa tlecueçalutl, iuhqujn tlemjmjiavatl moquequetza, in tlenenepilli: auh in jnacaio Motecuçoma, iuhqujn txotzoiocatoc, yoan tzoiaia injc tlatla.

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[1] Rafael García Granados points out, in a personal communication, that "concerning the death of Moctezuma various versions exist, but all of them may be included in two large groups: those emanating from the natives and those emanating from the Spaniards. The former maintain that Moctezuma was killed by the Spaniards, and the latter that his death was due to being struck by a rock as he tried to calm his subjects. Among reports of indigenous origin we consider the opinions of Durán, *Hist. de las Indias de Nueva España*, II, 50 — '. . . *lo hallaron muerto con una cadena a los pies y con cinco puñaladas en el pecho*'; Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Décima Tercia Relación de la venida de los Españoles*, p. 12 — '. . . *en donde dicen que uno de ellos le dió una pedrada de la cual murió, aunque dicen sus vasallos que los mismos españoles lo mataron, y por las partes bajas le metieron la espada*'; Acosta, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 388 — [illegible] *Códice Ramírez*, p. 199 — '. . . [illegible]' Oviedo y Baños, *Hist.* [illegible]; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, 51 — [illegible] . . .' Reports of Spanish origin are given by Díaz del Castillo, *Hist. Verdadera*, II, 83 — '. . . *y le dieron tres pedradas, una en la cabeza, otra en un brazo y otra en una pierna*, [illegible]'; López de Gómara, *Hist. de la Nueva España*, I, 301 — [illegible]; Cortés, *Cartas de Rel.*, I, 233 — '. . . [illegible]'; Vázquez de Tapia, p. 39 — '. . . [illegible]'; Aguilar, *op. cit.*, p. 77 — '. . . [illegible]'; *ibid.*, p. 78 — [illegible] Besides these, we have the opinion of Clavijero, which we consider the most reasonable (*Hist. Ant. de México*, II, 211) — [illegible] Muñoz Camargo, *Hist. de Tlaxcala*, p. 224, says that he died baptized and that his godfathers were Cortés and Alvarado." — Chimalpahin (*op. cit.*, p. 191 — [illegible] the Spaniards killed Moctezuma, strangling him), agrees with the source used by Oviedo y Baños.

[2] The corresponding Spanish text has [illegible] — both mean tortoise. According to Ignacio Alcocer, *Apuntes sobre la antigua México-Tenochtitlan* (Tacubaya, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1935), p. 86, it was where now is "la esquina de [illegible] con Tacuba."

[3] Corresponding Spanish text: [illegible] — The version of this report, in Acosta, *loc. cit.*, differs considerably from that of the *Florentine Codex*.

Caso, *op. cit.*, identifies Copulco (Copolco) with a barrio adjacent to Tlatelolco, bounded now N. by Calle de Mosqueta; E., Gabriel Leyva; S., Moctezuma; and W., Lerdo (formerly a canal).

764 And as it burned, with pure hatred, with little good will, some chid him, and said: "This evildoer! He terrorized the world! In all the world there was dread [of him]; in all the world there was fear and fright before him; this man, when anyone offended him only a little, he then slew. Many he punished for imagined evil, which was not real but only a fabrication of words."[4] And still many who cursed him, grumbled in their teeth, chattered, and shook their heads.

But Itzquauhtzin they went off with in a boat. They proceeded to take his body in a boat, to arrive here at Tlatilulco. They were deeply saddened; their hearts were desolate. All burst into tears.[5] None chid him; none belittled him. They said: "The lord, the commanding general Itzquauhtzin, suffered torments. He, with Moctezuma, underwent fatigue and affliction. How much pain he endured for us since we have come here and tarried during all the time that Moctezuma was [alive]!" Thereupon they set in order the palace flag and the rest of the paper array with which they bedight him, and they laid food before him.[6] And then they took him in order to burn him in the Temple Courtyard at a place called Quauhxicalco. With great honors his body burned.

726 And for four days there was fighting. For only seven more days the Spaniards were contained in their quarters. And when the seven days had passed, [some Spaniards] again sallied forth, going to observe, look about, and arrive there at Maçatzintamalco.[7] They went to gather stalks of green maize; they went to secure green ears of maize. Even as enemies they went to gather the green maize. They were in great haste; they no more than got there, and then quickly returned to enter [the palace]. And when they set out, the sun was high; [on their return, the sun] was setting.

Auh injc tlatlac, çan tlevelpan, aocmo cenca teiollocopa: cequj caca: qujtoa. Inin tlapalpul: cemanaoac in otlamamauhtiaia, cemanaoac in ocoiolmauhcaxoia, cemanaoac in oivic valmomamauhtiloia, valmoiçavilaia: in ichoatl in, in aquin çã tepitzin, injc qujiolitlacoaia, njman contlatlatiaia, mjec in tlapactli oqujtzacujlti in amo nelli in çan tlatolchichioalli: yoan oc mjectin in caoaia, qujqujnacaia, tlatzivaia, moquaquacuecuechoaia.

Auh in Itzquauhtzin conacalhujto, acaltica conanato in jnacaio, injc caxitico njcan tlatilulco, cenca motlaocultique, cenca icnoioac in iniollo, teixaiovitoa, aiac ma cavaia, aiac in ma qujtelchiua: qujtoaia. Oqujhiiovi in tlacatl, in tlacochcalcatl in Itzquauhtzin, ca ivan otlaihiiovi, yoã omotolinj in Motecuçoma, quezqujch oqujhiiovi in topampa in vmpa otivallaque, otioalitztiaque in ixqujch cavitl in ocatca in Motecuçoma: njman ie ic qujchichioa in tecpanjtl, yoan oc cequj amatlatqujtl ic qujchichiuhque: yoan qujtlamamacaque: auh njman ic qujvicaque in qujtlatito in teuitvalco, itocaiocan quauhxicalco: cenca tlamavizçoliliztica injc tlatlac in jnacaio.

Auh iuh navilhujtl necaliloc, ça on chicomjlhujtique in caltzacuticatca in Españoles. Auh in oacic chicomjlhujtl: oc valqujzque ommotlachielito, ommotlatlachielito, vmpa onacito in maçatzintamalco: concujto ovatl, valxiloiotia, çan conitzcujto in toqujevatl, cenca çan onjcialtivia, çan tequjtl onacito: njma ic valcalactivetzque: auh in onqujzca ie vmmotzcaloa, ie vncalaquj in tonatiuh.

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[4] Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible]"

[5] Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible]"

[6] See Pl. 88.

[7] "[illegible] y Chapultepec," according to R. H. Barlow, "Anales de la conquista de Tlatelolco en 1473 y en 1521," [illegible] [illegible] — Rafael García Granados, personal communication.

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Twenty-fourth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards and those of Tlaxcalla set out and fled from Mexico by night.

And after dark, when midnight came, thereupon came out the Spaniards, crowded together, and all of the men of Tlaxcalla. The Spaniards took the lead, and the Tlaxcallans followed behind, covering the rear, like their walls, their rear guard. They went carrying a wooden bridge, which they proceeded to lay across the canal over which they passed.[1]

At the time, it was drizzling; there was a fine sprinkle, a gentle spray, of rain. They crossed easily some of the canals, at Tecpantzinco, Tzapotlan, and Atenchicalco. But when they went to attain Mixcoatechialtitlan,[2] the fourth canal, then it was seen that they were leaving. A woman fetching water spied them, whereupon she cried out and said: "Mexicans! Come here quickly! Already they leave! Your foes are already slinking away!" Then also a man cried out from the top of the [pyramid] temple of Uitzilopochtli. His cries spread well out over the people; everyone heard him. He said: "O chieftains, O Mexicans! Your foes are already setting out! Hasten here by war boat and along the roads!"

And when it was heard, then there was an outcry. On this, the war boatmen broke forth. They rushed; they plied the poles furiously; the boats struck and bumped one another. They came to [a place called] Mictlantonco Macuilcuitlapilco.[3] And from two sides the war boats came upon them. They pressed upon them, the war boats of those of Tenochtitlan and the war boats of those of Tlatilulco. And a number went afoot, direct to Nonoalco, making their way toward Tlacopan, intending to cut off their advance.

Injc cempoalli onnavi Capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles yoan in tlaxcalteca qujzque, choloque in mexico ioaltica. 726

Auh in ovaliovac in oacic ioalnepantla, njmã ie ic qujça in Españoles: cenmotecaque, yoan in ie ixqujch tlaxcaltecatl: in españoles iacattivi, auh in tlaxcalteca tlatoqujlitivi, tlatzinpachotivi, iuhqujnma intenanoan, intzacujlhoan muchiuhtivi, qujvicatiaque quauhtlapechtli contecatiaque in acaloco in jpan companotiaque: [312]

in jquac in aoachqujauhtimanj, aoachtzetzeliuhtimanj, aoachpixauhtimanj, oc cequj in vel companavique acalotli Tecpantzinco, Tzaputla Atenchicalco. Auh in oacito mjxcoa mjxcoatechialtitlã injc nauhcan acaloco: ie vncan itoque, in ie qujça: ce atlacujc civatl, in qujmjttac: njman ie ic tzatzi: qujto. Mexica, xioalnenemjcan, ie qujça, ie navalqujça in amoiaovan: njmã no ce tlacatl tzatzic in jcpac vitzilobuchtli vel tepan motecac in jtzatziliz, inqujch tlacatl qujcac: qujto. Tiacavane, mexicae, ie onqujça in amoiaovan, vallatotoca in acalchimalli, yoan in vtli ipan. 487 [203]

Auh in ocacoc: njmã ie ic tlacaoaca: njmã ie ic tlatzomonj in acalchimaleque, totoca, tequjtlanelòa, macallhujtequj, macallhujtectivi, tlamattivi mjctlantonco, macujlcujtlapilco: auh in acalchimalli, necoc in impan valmonamjc, in impan valmopic, in tenuchca imacalchimal, yoã in tlatilulca imacalchimal: yoan cequjntin icxipã iaque, nonoalco tlamelauhque, tlacupampa itztiaque, qujmiacatzacujlizquja: 726

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[1] The Aztec would permit reading "bridges" and "canals."—According to all other sources, they carried only one wooden bridge, which was seized in the first canal (that is, at Tecpantzinco, before the present site of the Post Office) and could not be used for the rest of the canals (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

[2] [illegible] is repeated in the Nahuatl MS.

These places were all at canals near the main temple square, on the road to Tlacopan. Caso (op. cit.) says of Atenchicalco and Mixcoatechialtitlan that they were on the Calzada de Tacuba between S. Juan de Letrán and Guerrero; Tecpantzinco was on the same calzada in the barrio of [illegible].

[3] The corresponding Spanish text refers to "un lugar que se llamaua mictlantonco, macuilcuitlapilco"; Caso (op. cit.) mentions a Macuilcuitlapilco, "que pertenece a Sn. Pablo y menciona Sahagún (IV-185)."

726 [411] Thereupon the war boatmen cast their barbed spears at the Spaniards. From two sides—from both sides—fell the barbed spears. And the Spaniards also shot arrows at the Mexicans; they shot iron bolts and guns. On both sides there was death. The Spaniards and the Tlaxcallans were shot by arrows; the Mexicans were shot. And when the Spaniards reached Tlaltecayoacan, there at the Tolteca canal,[4] there they fell into what seemed a deep chasm; they filled an abyss. There all fell. Those of Tlaxcalla and Tliliuhquitepec tumbled in, as well as Spaniards, and the horses, and some women. With them the canal was completely filled, full, clear to the banks. But those who came at the very rear, emerged and crossed over on men, on bodies.

And when they had proceeded to reach Petlacalco,[5] where there was another canal, very slowly, cautiously, and softly, with guarded measure, they set forth upon the wooden bridge. Here they recovered themselves, caught their breaths, and revived their valor.

And when they reached Popotlan,[6] it was dawn, and light was spreading. Already [the Mexicans] set out to attack; already they had been recognized from afar. And then they went raising a war cry against them and surrounding them. The Mexicans took after them; they took those of Tlaxcalla; and Spaniards were slain. And also Mexicans and Tlatilulcans were killed. On both sides was death dealt. They made the Spaniards leave Tlacopan; they pursued them. And when they advanced forcing them from Tiliuhcan and Xocotlihiovican, there at Xoxocotla,[7] there Chimalpopoca, son of Moctezuma, died in the fray. They came upon him pierced by a [648] barbed spear, and wounded. Likewise Tlaltecatzin, lord of the Tepaneca, died there. They had guided the Spaniards, and gone ahead to show them the route, keep them from wrong roads, maintain them on their course, and make the way for them.[8]

Thereupon they passed the Tepçolatl (a small stream). They crossed and forded the water there at Tepçolatl.[9] Then they climbed the embankment

njmã ic ic contlaça in acalchimalleque in tlatzontectli in impã in Españoles: necoccampa necoc in valhuetzi in tlatzontectli. Auh in ichoantin Españoles, no quimoalminja in Mexica, quivallaça in tepuzmjtl, yoan in tlequjqujztli necoc mjcoa: mjnalo in Españoles, yoan tlaxcalteca: mjnalo in Mexica. Auh in Españoles in oacique in tlaltecaioacan in vncan in tolteca acaloco: vncan iuhqujn motepexivique, motepexiuitenque, mochintin vncã onvetzque, omotepexiuhque in tlaxcaltecatl, in Tliliuhqujtepecatl, yoan in Españoles, yoã in cavallome, cequj cioa: vel ic ten in acalotli, vel ic tzoneuh. Auh in ça tlatzacutiaque, ça tlacapan, ça nacapan in onqujzque, in vmpanoque.

Auh in oacito petlacalco, in oc ce vncan icaca acalutli, çan jvian, çan matca, çan tlamach, çan tlamatzin in onqujzque, in jpan quauhtlapechtli, vncan patito, vncan imjhio qujcujque, vncã moqujchquetzque.

Auh in oacito popotlan, otlatvic, otlanez, ic oqujchcuhtivi, ic veca motlamatilitivi. Auh njmã ic ic qujmjcaoatztivi, qujmololhujtivi, intech icativi in Mexica, qujmaantivi in tlaxcalteca yoã in Españoles mjctivi: auh no mjctilo in Mexica in tlatilulca, necoc mjcoatiuh, tlacopan qujnoqujxtique in qujntoca. Auh in oqujnqujxtito Tiliuhcan, xocotlihiovican, vncan in xoxocotla, vncan in iaumjc in chimalpupuca, in jpiltzin Motecuçoma: in jpan qujçato mjntoc, tlatzõtectica, yoan vivitectoc, çã ic no vncan in mjc, Tlaltecatzin, tepanecatl tecutli in qujniacanaia, in qujntlaixtlatitivia, qujmotlaxilitivia, qujmotequjlitivia, qujmoquechilitivia in Españoles:

njmã ic ic companavique in Tepçolatl (ce atoiatontli) vmpanoque, onapanoque, in vncan tepçolac, njmã ic ontlecoque in acuero, onmotlalito otoncal-

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[4] *Ibid.*: "*Estaba por Sn. Fernando y la Ermita de los Mártires o de Sn. Hipólito*" (citing Dn. Fernando Ramírez).

[5] *Ibid.*: canal on Calzada de Tacuba — the next to last canal.

[6] See map. Caso (*op. cit.*), however, identifies it as the last canal on the Calzada de Tacuba.

[7] Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. [illegible]: "*el camino que va a Tacuba.*"

[8] In the Robredo edition of Sahagún (IV, p. 73), the account, from Bustamante's 1840 edition, is that "*murieron dos hijos de Moctezuma, el uno se llamaba Chimalpopoca y el otro Tlaltecatzi, los cuales iban guiando a los españoles.*"

[9] Tepçolatl: a stream near Otoncalpulco (Bustamante, *loc. cit.*).

[Acueco][20] and went to quarter themselves at Otoncalpulco,[21] [where] wooden barriers or palisades stretched about the courtyard. There they refreshed themselves; each one rested. And there they breathed. They caught their breaths; there they revived. [And] there those of Teocalhueyacan[22] came to meet them and lead them forward.

palco, quauhtenanictoc, quauhtenametoc in itvalli: 726
vncã moceviqué, mocecevique, yoĩ vncan ihiio cujque, imjhio qujcujque, vncan patito, vncã qujnnamjqujco in teucalhujacan in valteiacan.

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[20] [illegible] edition, loc. cit.: "[illegible] que se llama [illegible]."

[21] Corresponding Spanish text: [illegible] Bustamante, loc. cit.: "[illegible] se llama Santa María de los Remedios."

[22] Teocalhueyacan is the usual spelling.

[p. 68 is blank]

648 Twenty-fifth Chapter, in which is related how the people of Teocalhueyacan quietly and peacefully came to meet the Spaniards and offered them food when they fled from Mexico.

Tlacatecutli was the name, and Otoncoatl the lordly title, of the one who led them away. There he came to leave food. White tortillas; birds, baked [262] and boiled; eggs; and some live birds; and some tuna cactus-fruit he spread out before the Captain.

He said: "You have suffered fatigue. Our lords the gods have tired themselves. Let them rest. Let them find a resting place. Let them recover their breath."

Then Marina answered them and said: "My master, the Captain, saith: 'Whence have they come? Where [is] their home?'" Then they said to him: "May our lord hear: we have come from his home at Teocalhueyacan; we are the people of Teocalhueyacan." Then Marina answered: "It is well. They have shown us kindness. We shall go there tomorrow; there we shall sleep."

727 And meanwhile, just as dawn broke, when the earth was visible, then [the Mexicans] carried away — there were carried out — all the men of Tlaxcalla and of Cempoalla; and the Spaniards, who had plunged into the Tolteca canal and [at] Petlacalco or Mictlantonco. In boats they carried them all away. In patches of rushes, among the rushes; in patches of reeds, among the reeds, they went to cast each one and lay them out. They went to throw out each one. And they went to cast out each woman; [302] naked, yellow[-skinned], anointed with yellow, painted yellow, were the women. All and each of them they stripped and despoiled. They removed all from them and left them bare.

And the Spaniards they placed, each one, apart, in rows; [like] white reed shoots, or white maguey shoots, or white maize ears, or white reed shoots were their bodies. And they removed each of the deer which bore men on their backs, called horses.

And all the goods [of the Spaniards and their allies], carried in their back packs — all was stolen,

Inic cempoalli omumacujlli capitulo, vncã mjtoa in quenjn Teucalhujacantlaca, ivian, iocuxca qujnamjqujco in Españoles yoan qujnmacaque in tlaqualli, in jquac choloque mexico.

Tlacatecutli itoca, otoncoatl in jpiltoca, in valteiacã, in vncan qujcavaco tlaqualli, iztac tlaxcalli, totolin, totollaleuatzalli, totollaapoçonjlli, totoltetl, yoan cequjn ioioli in tutultin, yoan cequj nochtli contecaque ixpan in capitan:

qujtoque. Oanqujmjhiovltique, oqujmociavitique in totecujovan in teteu, ma mocevitzinocan, ma tlaltitech maxitican, ma mjhiocujtican:

njmã qujnnaalnãqujli in Malintzin: qujto. Notechiuhcavan, qujmjtalhuja in Capitan: campa vallaque, campa inchan: njmã qujlhujque. Ma qujmocaqujti in totecujo: ca vmpa tivallaque in jchantzinco in Teucalhujacan, ca titeucalhujaque: njmã qujnnaalito in Malintzin. Ca ie qualli otechmocnelilique, vmpa tiazque in muztla, vmpa ticochizque.

Auh njmã vel iquac in otlatlavizcalli ieoac, in otlatlalchipaoac in teçacoc, in çaçacoque in ie ixqujch Tlaxcaltecatl, in cempoaltecatl, yoan in Españoles, in motepexivique in tulteca acaloco, yoan in petlacalcu, anoço mjctlantonco: acaltica in teçaçacoc, aztapilla, aztapiltitlan, tulla, tulitic in qujmamaiavito, qujmõtzotzopontitlaçato, inca vmmamaiavito, yoan in cioa qujntlatlaçato, pepetlauhtivi, cuztique, coztalanpopul, coztemjloltique in cioa, muchintin qujnpepetlauhq qujntlacujcujlique, qujntlatepevilique, qujnpetztoccauhque.

Auh in Espanoles nonqua qujntetenque, qujnvivipanque, ie on tolcellome, ie õ meztallome, ie on acaxilome ie on tolcellutl innacaio, yoan qujnçaçacaque in mamaça in temamanj intoca cavallome.

Auh in jxqujch in intlatquj in tlamamalchichiuhtiuh muchi namoialoc, muchi macoaloc, in aqujn

727 all was claimed as booty. He who came upon something, took it, whatever it was; he appropriated it, carried it off on his back, and took it to his home. And on the very place where there were the killings, all—whatsoever it was—which they had gone from and left in fear, and much war equipment, were there stolen: the lombard guns, the arquebuses. And some lay there strewn; gunpowder, iron swords, iron lances, halberds, iron crossbows, and iron bolts lay scattered. And also there were looted iron helmets, corselets of iron and of chain mail, and leather, iron,[1] and wooden shields. And there were claimed as booty the bars and plates of gold, and gold dust, and golden necklaces with pendants.

And when all had been pillaged, thereupon all dispersed into the water and, severally, searched for things, some using their hands, some using their feet.

And as they had set forth, those in the lead had been able to escape. But those who had closed the march, those fell [into the canal] and sank in the water. All had died. It seemed as if verily mountains of [dead] men had been formed. They had pressed against one another and indeed slain themselves, smothered.

726 And while this was going on, there at Acueco [the Spaniards] had slept; still at night, yet well toward the dawn, they arose, bedight themselves, and girt themselves for battle. Each put on his war array. Thereupon they departed, moved on, and placed themselves in order. And the Mexicans took after them, shouting and crying out—following after them only at a distance, keeping after them from there. And when they reached another place, called Calacoayan, on top of a rounded hill, on a small rise, where there were rows of rocks,[2] there they set upon and slew the people, spearing them. The people there were unwarned, these Calacoayan folk. Without notice they were slain. [The Spaniards] vented and loosed their wrath upon them. And when they had put the people to death, thereupon they came down below and occupied the flat lands, the small plain called Tiçapan. After this they climbed up to Teocalhueyacan.

çaço tlein ipan oquiçato quicujtivetzi, qujmotechtia, qujmomamaltia qujtquj in jchan, yoan vel ipan nemjmjctiloc in jxqujch in çaço tlein oqujmauhcacauhtiqujaque yoan mjec in iautlatqujtl in vncan namoieloc in tomaoac tlequjqujztli in matlequjqujztli, yoan cequj vncan tepeoac, vncan tepeuh in tlequjqujztlalli, in tepuzmaquavitl, in tepuztopilli in tzinacantopilli, in tepuztlavitolli, in tepuzmitl: yoã no vncan macoaloc in tepuzquacalalatli, in tepuzvipilli, in tepuzmatlavipilli, in coachimalli, in tepuchimalli, in quauhchimalli: yoan vncan momaceuh in teucujtlatl in tlaxantectli, yoan teucujtlacomalli, yoan teucujtlatl tlaxaqualolli, yoan in chaiaoac cozcatl teucujtlaio.

Auh in ie ixqujch in otlanamoieloc, njmã ie ic onnetepeoalo in atlan, netlatetemolilo, cequjntin tlamatemoa, cequjntin tlacxitemoa.

Auh injc qujzque in iacattiaque, ie vel qujzque: auh in ça tlatzacutiaque, ichoantin in motepexivique in matlanvique, mochintin mjcque vel iuhquj tlacatepetl motlali monenepanotoque, çan monetechmjctique, mjhiomjctiq̃:

auh in ie iuhquj in vncã Acueco, in onocochque, oc veca iovan oc vellavizcalpan in meuhq̃, in mochichiuhque, in moiauchichiuhque, in ómaaqujque in iautlatqujtl: njman ie ic oneoa, onolinj, ómotema. Auh in mexica qujmjcavatztivi qujmoiovitivi, aocmo intech onaci, ça vecapa qujmjtztivi ça qujn vecapa vitivi, ça qujnnachcapavitivi. Auh in onacique cecnj, itocaiocan calacoaian, tlamjmjloltiqpac, tlacpactonco, in vncã tecuecuentla, vncã ótemjctitiqujuhque ontexixilque, amo qujmjmachitique in vncan tlaca, in calacoaiantlaca, amo innemachpan in mjctiloque, intech motlavelqujxtique, intech melelqujxtique. Auh in ontemjctique: nimã ie ic ontemo in tlanj, connamjquj in tlalpechtli, in jxtlaoatontli: itoca, Tiçapan: njman ie ic ontleco Teucalhujacan.

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[1] *Tepuchimalli*: read *tepuzchimalli*.

[2] See Pl. [illegible]

Twenty-sixth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards reached Teocalhueyacan, and how the people there joyfully received them.

On entering Teocalhueyacan, they went to and quartered themselves in the Otomí tribal temple. They had arrived in good time — shortly before noon.

And when they arrived, all was at hand [for them]; all was arranged — all the food, fowls, etc. Great comforts did [the people] offer [the Spaniards]; quite peaceably they entered among them and offered them all which they required — fodder for the deer, water, grains of maize, ears of green and of tender maize, boiled ears of green maize, tortillas of tender maize, boiled ears of tender maize, roasted ears of green maize, tamales of green maize; and slices of squash. They lavished and pressed these things upon them, gained their good will, and made friends with them.

And the people of Tliliuhquitepec who came there [with the Spaniards] had formed a bond with those of Teocalhueyacan; for those of Tliliuhquitepec were relatives and kin of those of Teocalhueyacan.[1] Teocalhueyacan had been the place from which those of Tliliuhquitepec had set forth and originated — their seat and residence. From that place they had gone forth and issued.

There [at Teocalhueyacan] they consulted among themselves, were of one mind, came to common conclusions, and agreed in a common determination to meet with and pray to the Captain — the god — and all the [other] gods: "They have come to reach their revered home here at Teocalhueyacan. Here we, the vassals, the men of Teocalhueyacan and of Tliliuhquitepec, offer our prayers and greetings. And may our lord hear! For Moctezuma and the Mexicans have greatly afflicted and troubled us. To our very noses they have brought misery, for this one

Injc cempoalli onchiquacen capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles acito Teucalhujacan: auh in quenjn qujnpaccacelique vmpa tlaca. 648

In teucalhujacan oncalacq̃ onmocacaltemato in otŏcalpulco, çan cuel in onacito, aiamo vel nepantla tonatiuh:

auh in onacique, ça temac: moch mocencauh in jxqujch qualonj in totoli. &c. cenca qujnpapaqujltique, çan ivian intlan oncalacque, ixqujch qujnmacaia in jxqujch qujmjtlanjliaia, in maçatlaqualli, in atl, in tlaolli, in elotl, in eloxoxouhquj, in elopaoaxtli, in elotlaxcalli, in xilopaoaxtli, in eloixcalli, in elotamalli: yoan in aiotlatlapanalli, qujntlanenectiaia, qujntlanenequjltiaia, qujmŏmocnjuhtique, onmocnjuhtlaque. 648 262

Auh in tliliuhqujtepeca, vncã vallaque, qujmŏnelоco in teucalhujaque: iehica ca in tliliuhqujtepeca incotonca ioan invaniolque in teucalhujaq̃ in tliliuhqujtepeca, inqujzcã iniolcan, inquechtetzon yioncan in teucalhujacan, vncã qujzticate, 648

vncã mononotzque vncan qujcemjtoque, vncã qujcentlalique in intlatol, qujnepanvique, contlamãvique in innenonotzal, injc qujnamjcque, injc quĩtlatlauhtique in capitan in teutl, yoan in ie mochintin teteu, ca omaxitico in inchantzinco in njcã teucalhujacan, ca njcan tictotlatlauhtilia, tictociauhquechilia in timacehualhuã, in titeucalhujaque, yoan in Tliliuhqujtepeca: yoan ma qujmocaqujti in totecujo. Ca in motecuçoma yoã in mexicatl, ca cenca otechtolinj, otechtlaciavilti, vel toiacacpa oqujqujxti in netolinjlĩztli: ca ixqujch inin techtequjtia in tlacala-

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[1] Corresponding Spanish text: "y [illegible] de la guerra [illegible] con los de Teocal[illegible] porque eran todos parientes y desde pueblo de Teocalhueyacan [illegible] a poblar a Tliliuhquitepec." The connection is shown in Pedro Carrasco Pizana: Los otomies (México: Instituto de Historia, 1950), p. 281, fig. 29.

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648 hath laid all manner of tribute upon us. But this [Moctezuma] is our lord and our ruler. And if [the gods] hasten to quit us — for the Mexicans are inhuman and very unrighteous — if [the gods] quickly leave us, if they stay away long, [the Mexicans] will return; they will come back here. The Mexicans have not made an end of and destroyed us. But great is their evil; they are full of sin."

And when Marina had informed the Captain of these words, he then answered them: "Let them not be grieved. I shall not tarry; shortly shall I return and speedily shall I find them. Here will be the ruling; here will be the place of governing. The Mexicans will be destroyed, so that they shall not harm you."

And when the people of Teocalhueyacan heard this, they rejoiced greatly. They became proud and haughty because of it. Behold, they therefore rose up and held themselves as better than others, as if they knew all. The more they listened foolishly, the more they were vainly presumptuous; as if then they had lost fear. They took this to be true; they thought that this was already so.

[534 201] And when this was over, and they had slept, when it was still deep night, flutes were blown, they sounded the mixed flutes and the wooden whistles,[2] and drums were beaten. War drums were sounded. Then the Spaniards all arose and got up, and arrayed themselves. And after this, then they departed and filled the road. They went crowding the road.

Then they went on to and reached Tepotzotlan. Before long, in good time, they quartered themselves [there]. Only a short distance had they marched. And the people of Tepotzotlan then scattered and departed, fleeing from them and entering the forest. Some climbed the mountain; some [went into] the gorge. [The town] was quite abandoned to the Spaniards.[3] None dealt with them, because very great were they in destruction of men. Therefore they took flight and ran off. Only their bodies did they save. And all their goods they scattered in haste; they dropped them in their hurry. [The Spaniards] entered the palace; they went into the palace to quarter themselves. There they slept, being all together, all crowded and heaped together. For they were quite frightened; they went in fear.

qujli: auh inin ca totecujo ca totlatocatzin. Auh intla techmocavilitiqujça ca tlacatl in mexicatl, vellaveliloc, intla techmocavilitiqujças, intla movecavitiz, in oalmovicaz in valmocuepetzinoz, aotechtlamjque, aotechpopoloque in Mexicatl: ca vel huei tlaveliloc, ca vel qujmazilti injc tlaueliloc.

Auh in ocōcaqujti in Malintzin in tlatolli in capitan: njmā qujnoalhuj. Macamo motequjpachoā ca amo njvecaoaz, iciuhca njoallaz, iciuhca njqujnmatiqujuh, njcan tlatoloz, njcan tlatoloian iez, popoliviz in Mexicatl, macamo amechiolitlacocan.

Auh in oiuh qujcaque in teucalhujaque cenca papacque, ic aatlamatque, ic cuecuenotque, iz ic moquetzque, ic moichoatocaque, qujmolhujltocaque, ilhujz iuhqujn mocacaq̄ ilhujz iuhqujn aatlamati, iuhqujn vncā motlatlalia iniollo monelchiuhque, ie om ma nelli iuh momatque.

Auh inic iuhquj in ocochque oc veca iovan in ie tlapitzalo, in qujpitza quauhtlapitzalli, quavilacapitztli, yoan tlatzotzonalo, iautlatzotzonalo: ie ic necoalo, meeva in Españoles, nechichivalo: Auh in ie iuhquj, ie ic oneoalo neutemalo, pepetzocatiuh in vtli:

njmā ic onacito in teputzutla, aia vel quēman oc qualcan in oonmotlalito, çan achi qujtocatiaque: auh in teputzoteca njman ic tzomonque olinque, ic choloque, quauhtlacalaoque: cequjntin tepetl qujtlecavique: cequjntin atlauhtli, çan inpan macauh in Espanoles, aiac inca muchiuh: ichica ca cenca vei in intepololiz, ipampa mocholoitique, mocholtique: çan inqujch in innacaio qujmaqujxtique: auh in izqujch in intlatquj qujtepeuhtiqujzque, çan iuh tlacauhtiqujzque: tecpan in oncalacque, oonmotepancaltemato, vncā cochque, çan cenietivi, çan cemololiuhtivi, çan centepeuhtivi: ichica ca çan mauhcavi, çan momauhtitivi.

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[2] [illegible] cf. Eduard Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), II, Pt. 3-4, p. 143; Alvaro Tezozomoc: *Histoire du Mexique* (H. Ternaux-Compans, tr.; Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), I, p. 121.

[3] *Españoles*: the tilde is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

And when the dawn broke, at a good hour, all ate and broke their fast. When they had broken their fast, when they had eaten their breakfast, then they arose and set forth on the road. [Those of Tepotzotlan] shouted war cries after them from a distance, from afar. Only holding their distance did they shout at them. And if any dared come up to them, as if one were to speak to them, [the Spaniards] lanced them. Once and for all the Spaniards speared them. No longer did they stir; none escaped; none saved the speared one.

Then they proceeded to and reached Citlaltepec, to rest [there]. But the land was abandoned to them; the folk did not await them.[4] And the chieftains and the people of that place, the householders, showed themselves no more, but only hid. They skulked behind things—perhaps rock cacti,[5] or maguey plants, or a knoll, or a cliff. For [the Spaniards] were not to be opposed.—There also they slept.

And when the dawn broke, in good time, when it was already warm and mild, thereupon [the Spaniards] ate. And then once again they set forth and proceeded to Xoloc. In the same manner, it was abandoned to them. No one awaited them with even a little. Quite hurriedly the houses had been abandoned. No one was there to come out to [the foe]. They had hidden above, on top of Mount Xoloc. Watch was kept on all sides, that nowhere [the Spaniards] might be hidden on a terrace, in a gorge, or in an abyss. They were afraid, in dread, lest they be seen by their foe, lest without warning they set upon them.

And when dawn broke, when they were about to depart, set forth, and go on their way, they thereupon ate. Then they set out. In two files, on each side of the road, marched the deer bearing men upon their backs, called horses. And all the burden-bearers marched within [the files], crowded together.[6] And as they ended their march, they then set and laid fire to the Otomí temples, and to all the temples, houses of the demons. Then they burned; the fire roared. The blaze, the tongues and flames of fire, and the smoke arose. Smoke spread out and

Auh in otlatvic, in ie achi qualcã: njman ie ic tlatlaqua, quiquja in innecuhca: in omnonecuhcaiotique, in oconquaque in innecuhca: njmã ie ic oneuhque, ie ic vtlatoca, qujmjcavatza, ça veca, ça vecapa, ça qujnvalhuecapavia, in qujnvalicavatza. Auh intla ça acame motlapaloa in intech onaci, iuhqujn aqujn õtlatoltia in q'nvalixili, çan ie cenvi in qujmjxili, aocmo valmocuecuetzoa aocac qujça, aocac qujqujxtia in qujxili:

njmã ie onacito in citlaltepec, ommotecato, çã no tlalcaviloque, amo qujnmochielique in macevalti. Auh in tlacaoan, in vncã tlaca, in chaneque, aocmo valmjxmana, ça motlatia, itla qujmotoctia, aço tenopalli, aço metl, aço tlaltepevalli, anoço texcalli: ichica ca amo ixnamjqujztin, no vncã cochque.

Auh in otlatvic, ie achi qualcan, ie tlatotonje, in ie tlaiamanja: njman ie ic tlatlaqua, njman ie ic no ceppa vmpeoa, ommjquanja xoloc: çan ie no ivi, inpan macauh, aocac in ma nel ça çe ton, qujnmochielti, vel cacactivetz in calli, aiac in ma ivic quiza: tlacpac in motlatique, icpac in tepetl xoloc: noviampa vallachielo, acã motlatique tlapechian, tlacomulco, anoço atlauhco, ie qujmacacia, ie qujnmauhtia, in ma amo qujmjmachititi in iniauvan, in maca innemachpan icpã valcholoti.

Auh in otlatvic in ie iazque, in ie onecoazque, in ie onolinizque: njman ie ic tlatlaqua: ie ic vmpeoa, necoc omac onotivi, in mamaça in intemamacaoan, intoca cavallome: auh in ixqujch tlamama çan tlatic onotivi, ololiuhtivi. Auh in ontlanque in vi: nec contlequechia, contlemjna, contlecavia in otonteucalli, yoan in ixqujch teucalli, in incal tlatlacatecolo, nec tlatla, cuecuetlaca: in tlecueçallutl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecocomochtli poctlevatoc, poctli mantoc, poctli moteca. Auh in jquac ie iativi, qujmjcavatztivi in macevaltin, çan vecapa:

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[4] According to Siméon, op. cit., [illegible] with amo implies that the foe is credited with courage.

[5] Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 229.

[6] Corresponding Spanish text: "yuan por el camino, en dos renglas, los de cauallos: y todos los de a pie, y los que lleuauã cargas, yuan en medio de los de cauallo."

648 settled. And as they went marching, the common folk set out shouting war cries after them, but from a distance.

Then they stopped at Aztaquemecan, at the base and foot of Mount Aztaquemecan. There, below, they rested, at a place called Çacamulco. Also above [346] was a rounded hill, where likewise there was an Otomí temple.[7] There they went to quarter themselves. Likewise it was abandoned to them. No more did the common folk draw near to them; but everywhere the houses remained quiet. They had abandoned the houses in haste.

njman ic onmotlalito in Aztaquemecan: icxitlan itzintlā in ichoatl tepetl Aztaquemecā, in vncan motlalique tlatzintlan: itocaiocan çacamulco, no tlacpac, ololtontli in tepetl: no vncan icac otontecalli, oncan in ōmocaltemato, çan no impan macauh aocmo impan acito in macevaltin, çan novian cactoc in calli, cacactivetz in calli.

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[7] Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), IV, p. [illegible]

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Twenty-seventh Chapter, in which is told how the Mexicans came to and reached the Spaniards as they followed them at the rear.

Also this very time was when the Mexicans advanced and arrived in order that they might cut off [the Spaniards'] progress. The Mexicans went to and established themselves at the foot of a mountain called Tonan. And when dawn broke, the Spaniards[1] arrayed themselves and ate. Likewise the Mexicans bedight themselves and ate and drank. They drank a mixture of *pinole* and water.[2] Some climbed to the top [of the mountain], as scouts and sentinels, to watch *for* when the Spaniards would depart and move on. In truth, standing guard was their very charge, their concern.

And after this, when the Spaniards[3] already proceeded and followed the road, then the scouts cried out and said: "O Mexicans, your *foes* are already going! Let us array ourselves! Let us arm ourselves, each one! Let us all proceed! Let us all go together! Let none remain behind!" And when they heard this, there was running; all ran hither and thither and went in pursuit.

And when the Spaniards saw them, they waited for them. They then closed ranks in order to encounter them. They studied them carefully in order to consider how to fare well against them. And after this, [the Mexicans] then ran at them; they hurled themselves at them, so that all were enclosed within [the Spaniards' ranks]. Then they were speared and lanced; indeed, then died in great numbers those of Mexico and Tlatilulco. They went to deliver themselves, cast themselves into [the Spaniards'] hands, and came upon death. But few fled from their hands and so did not die. And those who remained at a distance, who remained following from afar, did not die. And when the Spaniards had dealt death among the people, and had spent their rage, they thereupon departed. All who bore burdens went following them. No one knew of them where they

Injc cempoalli on chicome capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica intech acito in Españoles injc qujnteputztocaia. 726

No vel iquac in onacito Mexica in qujniacatzacujlizquja: in onmotecato mexica itzintlan tepetl itoca Tona. Auh in otlatvic nec mocencaoa in Espanoles tlatlaqua: no ivi mexica mocecencaoa tlatlaqua, atli, pinolatl qujy: cequjntin tlacpac tlecoque, iautlachixque, iautlapixque, qujmonjtztoque in quēmā oneoazque, in quenman onolinjzque in Españoles: vel imjx intequjuh in ontlachixticate. [262 272]

Auh in ie iuhquj in ie olinj in ie utlatoca in Españoles: njman ie ic valtzatzi in iautlachixque: qujvalitoa. Mexicae ie iauh in amoiaouh, ticcencaoa, ticcecencaoa, ticmolinj, ticenvi, aiac mocauhtiaz. Auh in oqujcacque nec netlalolo, tlaixqujquiça, tlatotoca.

Auh in oqujnvalittaque in Españoles: qujnvalmochialtique, ic oalmomanque in qujnnamjqujzque, vel qujnnemjlia in quenjn vel qujnchivazque. Auh in ie iuhquj nec qujnxopiloa, qujncujtlaxeloa in quexqujch calitic momantiquja, nec texixilioa, tetzotzopitzalo, vel vncan tonacamjcoque in mexica in tlatilulca, çan qujmōmomacato, inmac onmotlaçato, çā conmotoqujlique in mjqujztli, ça quezqujn in tematitlampa qujz in amo mjc: auh in veca manca, in tevecapaviti manca amo mjcoque. Auh in ontemjctique in imellel onqujz in Españoles: njman ie ic vi, qujnteputzvitivi in jxqujchtin tlamama. Ça aocac qujnmati in campa cochque in jquac: vncan in in valmocuepato, in qujmonjcxicaoato, qujmonteputzcaoato in Españoles.

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[1] Españoles: the tilde is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

[2] Santamaría (op. cit., II, p. 479) says that it is now a drink of ground toasted maize mixed in water with cacao, sugar, cinnamon, and achiote (achiotl — Bixa orellana L.).

[3] See footnote 1 supra.

726 slept at this time. Here was the place to which [the Mexicans] went in order to return, when the Spaniards showed their heels to and turned their backs upon them.

766
727 Upon this, then were identified the chieftains who had died, who had been speared. There they burned all of them. And their charred [remains] they gathered up; they collected the bones of each of them. They heaped them all up and then buried them; they buried them in the earth.

805 And these are all the days since the Spaniards came to and entered Mexico, on One Wind of the day count and One Reed of the year count, on the eve of the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they had tarried one day, Two House, at that very time it was the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they came to the end of Quecholli, when it was the actual feast day, thereupon after it followed Panquetzaliztli, with twenty days.[4] Then after it came Tititl, also with twenty days. Then followed after it Izcalli tlami,[5] also with twenty days. Then, at that time, set in the five days known as Nemontemi. And when the five days came to an end, then began Atl caualo, or Quauitl eua, in which the year returned[6] — in which began the new year — also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Tlacaxipeualiztli, also of twenty [days]. Then followed after it Toçoztontli, also of twenty [days]. Then proceeded after it Uei toçoztli, also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Toxcatl, also of twenty days. This was when the chieftains perished; when they were cut to pieces, when the Mexicans were put to death. Then followed after it Etzalqualiztli, also of twenty days. Then came after it Tecuilhuitontli. This was when [the foe] set forth; upon an opportune day, the Spaniards set out, to disappear by night without the knowledge of [the Mexicans]; without its being their will, they set forth by night. And when the count of all the days is added, they are two hundred and thirty-five. And they had been our friends for one hundred and ninety-five days. And they were our foes for forty days.

806 And when the Spaniards had thus gone, it was therefore thought that in truth they had departed forever, that indeed once and for all they had left —

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic teiiximacho in tiacaoan in omjcque, in oxixilioque, vncan qujntlatique in jxqujchtin: auh in intecullo qujpepena, in jmomjo qujnenechicoaia, coololoaia, çatepã contocaia, contlaltocaia.

Auh in ixqujlhujtico in Mexico inic calaqujco in Españoles: ipã ce hecatl in cemjlhujtlapoalli: auh in xiuhtonalli ce acatl, oc muztla tlamatlactiz Quecholli: auh in cemjlhujtique vme calli: vel iquac in tlamatlacti quecholli: auh in oacic, tlamj quecholli in vel ilhujtl: njman ie ic qujoaltoqujlia in Panquetzaliztli, cempoalilhujtl: njmã qujvaltoqujlia Tititl no cempoalilhujtl: njman qujvaltoqujlia Jzcalli tlamj, no cempoalilhujtl: njmã iquac valmotlalia macujlilhujtl motenehua Nemontemj: auh in ontzonqujz macujlilhujtl: njmã ic vmpeoa in Atl cavalo, anoço quavitl eoa, vncã xiuhqujtzqujlo, vncan peoa in iancujc xivitl, no cempoalli: njmã qujoaltoqujlia tlacaxipeoaliztli no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia Toçoztontli, no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia vei toçoztli, no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia Toxcatl no cempoalilhujtl: ie vncan ixpoliuhque Tiacaoan in xaxamacaque, in mexica in mjcoac: njmã qujvaltoqujlia Etzalqualiztli, no cempoalilhujtl: njman qujvaltoqujlia Tecujlhujtontli, ie vncan in qujzque, vel ipan in ilhujtl in qujzque in Españoles, in moioalpoloque, amo tenemachpan, amo iuh catca teiollo inic qujzque ioaltica. Auh injc mocempoa in jxqujlhujtique matlacpoalli oçe, oncaxtolli: auh in tocnjoan catca chicunapoalilhujtl on caxtolli. Auh in toiaovan catca vmpoalilhujtl:

Auh in oiuh iaque in Españoles: inh nemachoc in ca oiccen iaque, in ca iccen oiaque, aocmo ceppa valmocuepazque, aocmo ceppa imjloch quiçhiom-

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[4] The Aztec text skips Atemoztli.

[5] Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 154.

[6] Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VII — *The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years*, p. 25; Sahagún, Robredo ed., II, p. 280.

[that] nevermore would they come back, never would they once again make their return. Then once more were adorned and arrayed the devils' houses; all were swept, rubbish was picked up, and the dirt removed.

quen: njman ie no ceppa ic tlachichivalo, tlacencavalo CCC in diablome inchan: tlachpanoc, tlacujcujvac, moquijquijxti in tlalli.

[p. 78 is blank]

796 Twenty-eighth Chapter. Here is told how the the Mexicans celebrated the feast of Uei [tecu]ilhuitl when the Spaniards had left Mexico.

796 And when [the month of] Uei tecuilhuitl had
778 again arrived, once more the Mexicans celebrated
the feast, here, after twenty days.[1] All the images
and representations of the devils they once again
adorned; each one they bedight with capes, ornamented with feathers, hung with necklaces, and
fitted with turquoise mosaic masks. And they put
[237 on them godly capes — the quetzal feather cape,
293] the yellow parrot feather cape, and the eagle feather
cape. And this array, the necessary items, the great noblemen guarded.

796 Then followed after it Tlaxochimaco, which they
also celebrated for twenty days. Then came after it
805 Xocotl uetzi, which they also observed for twenty days. And with Ochpaniztli they spent the fourth [period of] twenty [days]. With Teotl eco they spent the fifth [period of] twenty [days]; with Tepeilhuitl, the sixth score; with Quecholli, the seventh score. At this point would have been completed a year — if nothing had happened, and if [the Spaniards] had not gone.[2] With Panquetzaliztli they spent the eighth [period of] twenty [days]; with Atemoztli, the ninth score; with Tititl, the tenth score; with Izcalli tlami, the eleventh score; and here set in the Nemontemi, [lasting] five days. Atlcaualo was twelve — or Quauitl eua; Tlacaxipeualiztli, thirteen; Toçoztontli, fourteen;[3] Uei toçoztli was seventeenth; and Tecuilhuitontli, eighteenth. With this had passed one year since [the Spaniards] died at the Tolteca canal.

805 And when once more they came forth, when again we saw them, [this] one year was in its eleven[th] score [of days], in the month of] Izcalli. From [the direction of] Quauhtitlan they issued forth; they came to establish themselves at Tlacopan for a period of only seven days. Then they departred,

Inje cempoalli on chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica vei ilhujtl qujchiubq̃ in jquac oqujaque Españoles vncan mexico.

Auh in oacic vei tecujlhujtl: oc ceppa, ie no ceppa ilhujqujxtique in Mexica, vncã cempoaltica. Jn ixqujch in jmjxiptlavan, in impatilloan in diablome, ie no ceppa qujnceceencauhque, qujntlaquentique, qujnquequetzallotique, qujncocozcatique, qujmcenaaqujque xiuhxaiacatl, yoan qujnquequentia in teuquemjtl, in quetzalquemjtl, in tozquemjtl, quauhquemjtl. Auh inin tlatqujtl in monec, qujpiaia in vevei pipiltin:

njman qujoaltoqujlia in Tlaxuchimaco, no cempoaltique: njmã qujvaltoqujlia in xocotl vetzi, no cempoaltique. Auh in Ochpanjztli ic nappoaltique. Teutl eco: ic macujlpoaltique. Tepeilhujtl chiquacempoaltique. Quechulli ic chicõpoaltique: vncan cexiuhtizquja y, intlacatle muchivanj, intlacamo ianj. Panquetzaliztli, chicuepoaltique. Atemuztli, chicunappoaltique. Tititl matlacpoaltique. Jzcalli tlamj, ic matlacpoalli oce: njcan in muchioa in Nemontemj, macujlilhujtl. Atl cavalo, matlacpoalli omume, anoço Quavitl eoa. Tlacaxipeoaliztli, matlacpoalli omei. Toçoztontli matlacpoalli onnavi. Vei toçoztli, ic caxtolpoalli omume. Tecujlhujtontli, ic caxtolpoalli omei: vncan cexiuhtico y, injc mjcque tulteca acaloco.

Auh in ie no ceppa qujçaco, in ie no ceppa tiqujmjttaque ce xivitl, ipã matlacpoalli oce, ipan in Jzcalli: quauhtitlan in qujçaco, ommotlalico in Tlacuban çan onchicomjlhujtico: njman iaque vmpoaltito. Auh ie no ceppa qujçaco, çan qujxtiqujzque quauhtitlampa ixtiaque: çan tequjtl ontemjctitiqujzque in

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[1] So the Aztec reads (cempoaltica: see Molina, op. cit., [illegible], [illegible]).—Doubtless the twentieth day is meant, to conform with custom in observance of feast days (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

[2] See variant translation in Seler, op. cit., p. 520.

[3] The fifteenth and sixteenth months are omitted in the Aztec text.

805 and were gone for forty days. But once more they came forth, to make only a quick foray; from Quauhtitlan they came. Their only object was to set out to slay [those of] Tlaliztacapan and Iztacalla; people of Tlatilulco died there.[4] About four hundred perished.

And when they reached a determination, when a decision was reached about us, it was also [still] forty days to Toxcatl, exactly two years since the chieftains had died in the temple courtyard, in the [month of] Toxcatl.[5]

tlaliztacapan yiztacalla: tlatilulca in mjeque, achi vel centzontli in mjc.

Auh in tecentlatalhuj, in ic topan nenonotzaloc, no vmpoaltica ipan toxcatl: ic vel ic onxivitl in tiacaoan mjcque in teuitvalco, in Toxcatica./.

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[4] This passage is paralleled in *Anales de Tlatelolco*, pp. 64-65, §§306-307: "*Después partió* [*Cortés*] *yendo otra vez a Citlaltepec. Se va a Tlacopan y se viene a meter en el palacio. . . . Pelean 7 días contra nosotros únicamente allí, en Tlacopan. Y nuevamente retrocedió él, a quien siguieron. De allí salieron y se establecieron en Tetzcoco. Transcurridos 80* (*días*) *regresó una otra vez y se fué a Huaxtepec y a Quauhnahuac. De allí pasó a Xochimilco. Allí pereció gente Tlatelolca. De allí partió por segunda vez y marchó sobre Tlaliztacapan. Allí pereció gente Tlatelolca.*"

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 65, §§309-311.

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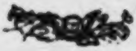

Twenty-ninth Chapter. Here is related how the plague[1] came, named smallpox, of which the natives died, when the Spaniards set forth from Mexico.

And [even] before the Spaniards had risen against us, a pestilence first came to be prevalent: the smallpox. It was [the month of] Tepeilhuitl when it began, and it spread over the people as great destruction. Some it quite covered [with pustules] on all parts — their faces, their heads, their breasts, etc. There was great havoc. Very many died of it. They could not walk; they only lay in their resting places and beds. They could not move; they could not stir; they could not change position, nor lie on one side, nor face down, nor on their backs. And if they stirred, much did they cry out. Great was its destruction. Covered, mantled with pustules, very many people died of them. And very many starved; there was death from hunger, [for] none could take care of [the sick]; nothing could be done for them.

And on some the pustules were widely separated; they suffered not greatly, neither did many [of them] die. Yet many people were marred by them on their faces; one's face or nose was pitted. Some lost their eyes; they were blinded.

At this time, this pestilence prevailed sixty days, sixty day signs. When it left, when it abated, when there was recovery and the return of life, the plague had already moved toward[2] Chalco, whereby many were disabled — not, however, completely crippled. When it came to be prevalent, [it was the month of] Teotl eco. And when it went, weakened, it was Panquetzaliztli. Then the Mexicans, the chieftains, could revive.

And after this, then the Spaniards came; they marched from Texcoco. By way of Quauhtitlan they set out, and quartered themselves at Tlacopan. There then the task was divided; their routes were there separated. Pedro de Alvarado's charge became the road leading into Tlatilulco. And the Marquis went

Injc cempoalli on chicunavi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn valla Totomonjztli, injc mjcque njcã tlaca: in jtoca vei çavatl, in jquac oqujxque Españoles in Mexico. 751

Auh in aiamo totechmoquetza in Españoles: achtopa momanaco vei cocoliztli, totomonaliztli, ipan tepeilhujtl in tzintic, in tetechmotecac vevei tepopul: cequj vel pepechtic, novian in motecac in teixco, in teicpac, in teelpan, &c. vellaixpolo, vel mjequjntin ic mjcque, aoc vel nenemja, ça onoca in jmonoian in incuchian, aoc vel molinjaia, aoc vel mocuechinjaia, aoc vel mocuecuetzoaia, aoc vel monacacicteca, aoc vel mjxtlapachtecaia, aoc vel maquetztitecaia. Auh in jquac mocuechinjaia, cenca tzatzia: cenca tlaixpolo, in pepechtic, in pepechiuhquj in çaoatl, vel mjec tlacatl, ic momjqujli, yoã mjequjntin çan apiz mjcque, apizmjcoac, aocac motecujtlaviaia, aocac teca muchivaia.

Auh in cequjntin çan veveca in intech motlali in çavatl, amo cenca qujmjhioti, amo no mjequjntin ic mjcque: yoã mjec tlacatl ic itlacauh in jxaiac, ichachaquachiuhque, iacachachaquachiuhque, cequjtin yixcueponque, ixpopoiotque:

iquac in manca inin totomonjliztli, vel epoalilhujtl, epoaltonal in qujz in cuetlan, in necmachoc, in iolioac: ie chalcopa vatztia in totomonjliztli, yoã mjec injc cocototzauh: amo tel iccen cocototzauh. In momanaco Teutl eco: auh in cuetlanjto ipan in Panquetzaliztli: vncan vel caxavaque in Mexica, in tiacaoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie vitze, valolinj in Españoles in vmpa Tetzcoco: quauhtitlampa in qujçato oanmotlalico Tlacuban: nec vncan motequjmaca, vncã moxeloe: in Pedro de Aluarado, itequjppã muchiuh in vtli vallaticac tlatilulco. Auh in Marques coioacan motlalito: auh itequjuh muchiuh in mar- 600

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[1] Corresponding Spanish term: pestilencia. Seler (op. cit., p. 531) has smallpox for this term, and "great rash" for vei çavatl. [illegible] (op. cit., p. 198, n. 3, has smallpox for totomonaliztli. — The term is [illegible] in the Codex.

[2] Probably either [illegible] or [illegible] should be read.

000 to and established quarters at Coyoacan, and it became the Marquis' charge — as well as the road from Acachinanco[3] which led into Tenochtitlan; for the Marquis knew that those of Tenochtitlan were great warriors, great chieftains.

726 And at Nextlatilco, or Iliacac, there in truth first came the fighting, when they quickly came to and reached Nonoalco.[4] The chieftains came pursuing them. None of the Mexicans died. Then the Spaniards turned back. The chieftains, who fought valiantly by boat, the warboatmen, shot darts at them. Their darts rained upon the Spaniards. They then entered [Nonoalco]. And the Marquis thereupon threw himself upon those of Tenochtitlan; he proceeded along the Acachinanco road. Many times, in truth, there was battle, and the Mexicans contended against him.

ques: auh in vtli in acachinanco vallaticac tenuchtitlan, in moma marques ca vei oqujchtli in tenuchcatl vei tiacauh:

auh in nextlatilco, anoço iliacac, vel vmpa achto iaupevaco, njman acitiuetzico in nonoalco in qujnvaltocaque tiacavan, aiaac mjc in Mexica: njman ic moteputztique in Españoles. In tiacavan in acaltica tlaecoa, in acalchimaleque qujmõmjna: in immjuh, ontzetzelivi in impan Españoles: njman ic calaque. Auh in Marques njman ie ic qujvallaça in invicpa tenuchca qujvaltoca in vtli in acachinãco: mjecpa valmicalia, auh connamjquj in Mexica.

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[3] A location in the lake, which can now be fixed as to the east of the Calzada de S. Antonio Abad and south of the Calzada de Fr. Servando Teresa de Mier (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

[4] Nextlatilco and Iliacac are parts of the *barrio* of Nonoalco, in Tlatelolco. Nonoalco (S. Miguel) is described as an "*Islote al norte de la Calzada de Tacuba*," an area today bounded N. by Calle de la Emigración and Manuel González; E., irregular line approximating Guerrero; S., approximately Lerma and Plaza de Alzaldo; and W., Olivo. — Caso, *op. cit.*

Thirtieth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards fashioned their boats there at Texcoco, in order to come here to conquer Mexico.

And when their twelve boats had come from Texcoco, all of them were brought together there at Acachinanco. Then the Marquis moved [his camp] there to Acachinanco, whereupon [the Spaniards] proceeded to find out where the boats could enter — where the canals were straight, or deep, or not deep [enough], so that they might nowhere be grounded. But the canals were twisting and winding; they could not there get them in.

Two boats they brought in there; they forced them through the road going straight from Xolloco. And once [for all] they resolved and determined to do away completely with the Mexicans. When they had so decided, then they placed themselves in order. They carried guns; in the lead they went bearing the large cotton banner. And so, without confusion or impatience, they proceeded beating drums, and sounding flutes, and blowing wooden whistles.

And the two boats came floating slowly; at one side only were the boats floating. But on the other side came no boats, because it was a place built up with houses. Then they came, giving battle. On both sides death was dealt and captives were taken. And when those of Tenochtitlan who dwelt in Çoquipan saw this, they then ran off; they fled in fear. The small children were taken from among the people. Into the water they went; all in the water were the common folk. A cry of weeping arose. And the boatmen filled boats with their little ones. They plied the boat poles; they plied them with vigor. Nothing else did they take with them, but left, hastily, in their fear, all their wretched belongings. Indeed everything they left scattered in their hurry. And our foes plundered as they went, taking whatsoever they came upon. What they found as they went, they took; they carried off with them perchance [regular] capes; or large, cotton ones; or devices; or two-toned drums; or ground drums.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles quiçinque imacal vmpa tetzcoco injc tepevaco njcan mexico.

Auh in ovalla imacal tetzcoco matlactetl omume, çan oc much vmpa mocenten in acachinanco, njman vncā valmjquanj in Marques in acachinanco: njmā ie ic qujtlatemolitinemj incampa vel calaquiz acalli, incampa ie melavaticac acalotli, in aço vecatlan, in acanoço vecatlan injc amo cana macanaz: auh in acalotli in cocoltic, in cuecuelpachtic, amo vel vncan qujcalaqujque,

vntetl in acalli in concalaqujque, concujtlaviltequjltique in vtli xolloco vallamelauhticac: auh ceppa qujcentlatalhujque, qujcemjtoque, injc qujncentlaxiliznque mexica in qujncentlatalhujaque: nec motecpana, qujvica in tlequjqujztli qujniacantivitz in quachpanjtl, çan njman amo mamana, amo momocivia, tlatzotzontivitze, yoan tlapitztivitze yoan quavilacapitztli.

Auh in vntetl acalli, çan jvian onotivitz, çan cectlapal in vallonotia in acalli: auh in oc cectlapal atle valla in acalli, ichica ca calla, nec iativitze, necalivativitz, necoc mjcoa, necoc tlamalo. Auh in oqujttaque in tenuchca in çoqujpan onoque: nec motlaloa, momauhcatlaloa, tetlan tlaano in pipiltzitzinti, çan atlan in vi, cematl mantiuh in macevalli, tlachoqujztleva. Auh in acāleque qujmacaltenque in impilhoantzitzin, qujntlanelhuja, qujntequjtlanelhuja, aoc tle ma itla conmocujlique, çā moch conmauhcacauhtiqujzaque, in intlatqujtzin, çan much vmpa contepeuhtiqujzque. Auh in toiaovan tlanamoxtivi, qujcujtivi in tlein ipan oqujçato, in tlein oqujpanoito qujcuj, qujmotqujlia in aço tilmatli, in aço quachtli, in anoço tlavizcli, in anoço teponaztli in anoço vevetl. 726

726 And those of Tlatilulco fought, there at Çoquipan,[1] in war boats. And when [the Spaniards] came to reach Xolloco, where there was a wall which cut across shutting off the road, they fired at it with the big guns. As the first [charge] fell, it did not crumble; but at the second, it collapsed; at the third, finally it quite went to the ground; and at the fourth, at last the wall [fell] completely leveled.

And the two boats moved in to meet those in war boats.[2] There was fighting in the water. And the guns occupied the entire prows of the boats. And there where the [Mexicans'] boats lay thick, where they lay close together, there, upon them, they fired. Many men died thereby. Then the boats went bobbing up and down and rocking, and sank. Just so was it with the bolts; the one upon whom they could take aim could not escape; he then died and there breathed his last. But when the Mexicans could behold and determine where the gun [shots] and bolts would strike, no longer did they follow a direct course. Only from side to side would they veer; only sideways, at a slant, they traveled.

And when [those on land] also already saw that now the big gun was to fire, they all fell to the ground; all stretched out on the ground, and lay flat. And the chieftains withdrew to enter the spaces among the houses. The road became clear; the wide road lay empty [of people].

And then [the Spaniards] proceeded to and reached Uitzillan,[3] where was yet another wall. And many [Mexicans] were spread out by it, crouched, taking refuge behind the wall. For a short time the [Spaniards'] boats were grounded there, as their prows struck land. There for a brief space they tarried while they prepared the guns.

Auh in tlatilulca vmpa tlaiecoque in çoquipan, acalchimaltica: auh in xolloco in oacico in vncan tenamjtl onoca, in onepãtla in qujtzacutoca vtli: in tlequjquiztli vei, ic qujmotlaq̃, aiamo xitin in iancujcan vetz, auh injc vppa, xitin: auh injc expa, iequene vel tlaltitech ia: auh injc nappa iequene vel iccen tlaltitech ia in tenamjtl.

Auh in ontetl acalli qujnnamjctiuh in acalchimaleque, necaliva in atlan. Auh in tlequjquiztli imacaliacac tetentiuh: auh in vnca tetzavatoc acalli, in vncan tecpichauhtoc: vmpa inpan contlaça mjec tlacatl ic mjc: njman aaquetztivetzi, nenecujliuhtivetzi, papachiuhtivetzi: çan ie no ivi in tepuzmjtl in aqujn vel qujmottilia, aocmo qujça, njman mjquj, vncan qujhiovia. Auh in ovel qujttaque Mexica, in ovel qujnemjliq̃ in juh vetzi tlequjquiztli, yoã in tepuzmjtl, aocac motlamelauhcaquetza, ça avic vivi, tlatlaxtlapaloa, ça ixtlapalhujvi.

Auh in jquac ie no qujtta in ie vetziz in vei tlequjquiztli, tlaltech viloa, tlaltech neteco, nepacholo. Auh in tiacavan cacalactivetzque in caltzalan chipavatimoquetz in vtli, in vchpantli, ça iuhquj n chipacpul icac.

Auh njman onacico in vitzillan, in oc ce vncã onoc tenamjtl: auh mjequjntin itlan mopachotoca, qujmotoctitoca in tenamjtl: achitonca vncan ommacã, ontzotzen in jmacal, vncan achitonca onvecavaque in oqujc conchichiuhque tlequjquiztli.

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[1] Barrio, also known as S. Pablo, Teopan Çoquipan, or Xochimilca, an area bounded now N. by Calle de Guatemala and Miguel Negrete; E., Calzada de Balbuena; S., Calzada del Chabacano and Calle de Morelos; and W., Calzada de S. Antonio Abad. — Caso, op. cit.

[2] See Pl. 120.

[3] Near the Church of S. Pablo (corresponding Spanish text).

Thirty-first Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards came with the brigantines and took after those who were in boats in order to join battle with them, and then emerged and came to arrive near all the houses.

And when they had reached [the guns], thereupon they fired upon the wall. And the wall then gave way and parted from behind. And the second time [the shot] struck, the wall then fell to the ground destroyed; it burst open, pierced through. Then likewise the road appeared clear [of men]. And the chieftains who were by the wall then dispersed. All fled from there, escaping in terror. And all the various men [allied to the Spaniards] then quickly advanced filling each canal. Then they speedily leveled them with stones, adobes, and some logs so that they were filled.

And after the canals had been filled, then came the horse[men], perhaps ten of them. They rode in a circle; they came wheeling about, twisting and circling. [And] once again horse[men] came, following after the others. And a number of Tlatilulcans who had quickly entered the palace which had been the home of Moctezuma then emerged in terror, and came up against the horse[men]. One [of them] lanced a Tlatilulcan. And though he had speared him, yet he took hold firmly of the iron lance. Then his companions went up to tear it from [the rider's] hands, threw him down upon his back, and upset him. And when he had fallen tumbled to the earth, they hit him repeatedly, they struck him on the back of the head. He died there.

Thereupon the Spaniards assembled and set out together. Then they reached Quauhquiyauac (the Eagle Gate). And they took with them the lombard gun and the equipment which went with it. They placed it at the Eagle Gate. (And for this reason is it called the Eagle Gate, that there stood an eagle carved in stone, a good man's height tall — so high — and flanking it stood, on one side, an ocelot, and on [the other] a wolf, likewise hewn of stone [)].

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli oce capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles ic valietiaque in vergantines, qujvaltocaque in acaltica nenca in qujnnamjqujto: njmã ic valqujzque itech acico in jxqujch calli. 726

Auh in oconchichiuhque: njmã ie ic qujvaimotla in tenamjtl: auh in tenamjtl, njmã tzatzaian, cujtlaxeliuh. Auh injc vppa vetz: njmã tlaltitech ia in tenamjtl, vevelocac, vmpet, oncoion: njman no iuhqujn chipacpul moquetz vtli. Auh in tiacavã in tenantitlan onoca, njmã ic valxitinque, valnetlalolo, nemauhcaqujxtilo. Auh in jxqujch nepapan tlacatl: njman iciuhca contetentivi in acalotli, njman iciuhca conjxmana tetica, xantica yoan cequj quavitl injc tlaatzopque.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ommatzop acalotli: njman ie ic valeoa in cavallome, aço matlacteme, ontlaiavaloco, ontlamalacachoco, ommocovitzoco, ommotevilacachoco: ie no ceppa centlamantli valevaque in cavallome, qujnvalcujtlapãvitiaque. Auh cequjntin tlatilulca tzalactivetzque in tecpan calca in jchan motecuçoma: njman ic valmauhcaqujçaia, qujmonnamjctico in cavallostin: ce qujxilico in tlatilulca. Auh in oqujxilico, oc vel can in jtepuztopil: njman qujmacujlito in jcnjvan, icujtlapan qujoalmaiauhque, qujvaltzineuhque: auh in otlalpan vetzico mec qujvivitequj, concuexcochvivitecque, oncan ommjc.

Niman ie ic qujoalcentlaça, oalcemolinj in Españoles: njmã ic onacico in quauhqujiavac. Auh in tomaoac tlequjqujztli qujvicativi, intlatquj ietiuh, contecaque in quauhqujiavac. (Auh injc motenevã quauhqujiavac, ca vncan icaca in quauhtli, tetl in tlaxixintli, vel cennequetzalli injc quauhtic, injc vecapan: auh qujtzatzacutimanj, in centlapal icaca ocelotl: auh in centlapal icaia cujtlachtli, çanno tetl in tlaxixintli. Auh in ie iuhquj in vevei tiacavan, oc nê [351 532]

726 And, when this had come to pass, the great chieftains in vain took refuge behind the stone columns; and [34] the stone columns [were] in two rows, altogether eight [of them]. And also the chieftains crowded on the roof terrace of the Coacalli.[1] They filled the roof terrace. None of the chieftains [could] go beyond.

And the Spaniards at first remained quiet. And when they fired the gun, it became very dark; smoke spread out. And those who were hiding behind the stone columns all fled; and all those who were on the roof terrace hurled themselves down, and all ran far away. Then [the Spaniards] took up the gun and went to place it upon the large, round stone. [534] And on top of the [pyramid Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, holding vigil to no purpose, [priests] struck two-toned drums; as if with all force they struck the two-toned drums. And then two Spaniards climbed up, going to club them there. And when they had gone there to strike them, they cast them down; they threw them down from there.

And the shorn ones, all the chieftains, who had been fighting in boats, all came forth and issued on to the dry land. And those who plied the boating poles for them [were] the young boys; only these guided the boats. And upon this the chieftains then took note of the spaces among the houses. They ran fast; all in truth shouted and said: "O chieftains, make haste!"

And when it came to pass that the Spaniards saw that they were about to come to grips with and pursue them,[2] then they cowered and sped away; they turned tail; they indeed fled and ran. From both sides they were shot at with darts and barbed arrows; and from both sides they were pelted with stones. Shortly, then, they went to find respite at Xoloco, to catch their breath. There [the battle] quieted, and thereupon [the Mexicans] all turned back. And the Spaniards then also returned and went to establish themselves at Acachinanco. But the gun, in their haste, they abandoned there on the large, round stone. Then the chieftains seized it, ran it forward, and went to toss it into the water. They pulled it to Tetamaçolco.[3]

qujmototoctiticaca in tetlaquetzalli: auh in tetlaquetzalli ompantli, nepan chicuej. Auh in coacalli iclapiloc, no tetentoque in tiiacavan, motlatlapantentoque aocac iztlapal iauh in tiiacavan.

Auh in Españoles çã njman amo mamana: auh in oqujtlaxque tlequjquiztli cenca tlaiovac, poctli motecac. Auh in qujmotoctitimanca in tetlaquetzalli, netlaloloc yoan in jxqujchtin tlapanco onoca valmotepeuhque vica netlaloloc, nec qujvallecavia in tlequjquiztli contecaco temalacatitlan: auh in jcpac vitzilobuchtli, oc nê tlapiaia, qujvitequja in teponaztli, iuhqujn ontetemj qujvitequj teponaztli: auh njmã ic ontlecoque vmentin Españoles, vmpa qujmonvivitequjto: auh in oqujmonvivitequjto in ca valmaiauhque, qujnvalchicanauhque:

auh in quaquachictin in jxqujchtin in tiiacavan in acaltica tlaiecoaia, muchintin valqujçaque, vallaltvacaqujzque: auh in tetlanelhuja in telpopotztitzinti, çan iehoãtin in qujvallhujvicaque in acalli. Auh in ie iuhquj in tiiacavan, nec qujmottilia in caltzalantli vellatotoca, vel netzatzililo: qujtoa. Tiiacavane, ma vallatotoca:

auh in ie iuhquj, in oqujttaque in Españoles in ie impan monamjquj in ie qujntotoca, njmã ic mocototztlalique, motepotztique, vel totoca, motlalos necoccampa in valmjnaloia in tlatzontectica, yoan necoccampa in valtepachoia, qujn vmpan xoloco patito, imjhio qujcujto, vmpa valnenomanato: njman ie ic valnecuepalo. Auh in iehoantin Españoles, njman ic no mocuepa motlalito in acachinanco: auh in tlequjquiztli vncan qujcauhtiquiuhque in temalacatitlan: njman conanque in tiiacavan, qujtotocza qujmaiavito atlan, tetamaçolco qujtzilictiaque.

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[1] Spanish text: "[illegible]" The Coacalli is described in Book VIII —Kings and Lords, p. 44.

[2] [illegible]

[3] Spanish text: "[illegible]"

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Thirty-second Chapter. Here is told how the Mexicans in terror left their city, from fear which they felt of the Spaniards.

And meanwhile those of Tenochtitlan came to enter, here, in Tlatilulco. There were cries of weeping, and there were shouts. Many were the tears of the beloved women. And the men[1] went with their women. One or another carried his child upon his shoulders. When, then, they abandoned their city, it was for only a day. And the Tlatilulcans yet again went there to Tenochtitlan to give battle.

And at this time Pedro Alvarado yet once more moved there against Iliacac, which is toward Nonoalco. Nothing could be accomplished. It was as if he had arisen against a stone. For those of Tlatilulco put forth great effort. On both sides was there fighting, on the road and on the water with war boats. When Alvarado grew tired, then he turned back and went to camp at Tlacopan. And only two days after they had thrown against them the boats which first went — only[2] two — then all [the boats] set forth together and stopped at the outer houses of Nonoalco. Thereupon they issued on to the dry land, the firm ground. Then they followed the narrow road, [into] the heart of the settlement.

And when the Spaniards came, all was clear. No man of the common folk appeared. But Tzilacatzin, a great chieftain and very brave, then cast three of his stones which he carried — great, large, round rocks: wall stones, or white stones. One he had in his hand; two he bore upon his shield. Thereupon he gave chase to and went against the Spaniards, dispersing and scattering them in the water. Into the water they went. In truth, heavily laden on the water [were the boats] as they went down [into them].

Injc cempoalli ómmatlactli omume capitulo: 726 vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica valmomauhcaqujxque in vncan imaltepeuh ipan in qujmjmacaque Españoles.

Auh in jquac in, in tenuchca valcalacque in njcan tlatilulco, tlachoqujztleoa, tlatzatziztleoa, ixachi in jmjxaio cioatzitzinti: auh in toqujchtin qujnvivicatze in incioaoa in aca qujqquechpanoa in jpiltzin: njmã iquac in qujcauhque in jmaltepeuh ça cemjlhujtl. Auh in tlatilulca ie no vmpa iauvi in tenuchtitlan in mjcalitiqque.

Auh in ie iuhquj in Pedro aluarado: ie no vmpa qujvallaz in iliacac, in jvicpa nonoalco, aiatle vel qujchiuhque, iuhqujn tetitech onvaco: ichica ca in tlatilulca cenca mochicaoaque, nenec in tlaiecoloc, vtli ipan, yoan atlan in acalchimalco: in onmixiuhtlati in aluarado, njmã ic mocuep, motlalito in tlacuban: auh çan jvjptlaioc in qujvalcentlaçque in acalli in acachto valla, can oc omei: auh çatepã muchi cequjça in calteno nonoalco onmotecaco: njman ie ic oalqujça in tlalhoacpã, in tlalhoacpan: njman ie ic qujvalitoca opitzactli, in calla icac, qujvalitoltoca.

Auh in vncan valqujxque Españoles ocactivetz, aocac tlacatl oqujz in macevalli. Auh in tzilacatzin vei tiacauh cenca oqujchtli: njmã ic qujvallaz, eexti in qujqujj itenh, vevei tepopol momalacachtic ic in temalacatl, anoço iztac tetl, centetl imac ietiuh, vntetl ichimalticpac ietiuh, njman ie ic qujntoca qujnmoteputztoca atlan, qujnpilmaviztia in Españoles, ça atlan in oniaque, vel acemjque in ontetemoque

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1. Toqujchtin: literally, we men, as elsewhere rendered in this translation.

2. Can: probably çan is meant.

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701 (And this Tzilacatzin was an Otomí [warrior],
as a chieftain, because of his Otomí hairdress. For
he despised his foes, even the Spaniards. He dis-
dained them; in truth, all were completely terrified.
When they saw Tzilacatzin, our foes then cowered.
And much did they try to slay him; either to pierce
him with iron bolts, or shoot him with a gun. But
Tzilacatzin disguised himself, that he might not be
[301] recognized. At times he put on a device; he hung
his lip pendants and inserted his golden ear plugs,
and he put on a neck band of small white shells;
but his head went uncovered, so that it was apparent
that he was an Otomí. And sometimes [he had]
only his heavy cotton shirt and a thin band with
which he wrapped his forehead. And at times he
[293] disguised himself by putting on a feather headdress
and wig, a head band with [two] eagle feather tufts
which went at the back of the head, used to bind
[his hair]. Thus did one go with it bound at the
time that men were cast into the fire.[3] He went in
the guise of one who cast men into the fire; he went
imitating those who cast men into the fire. [He had]
his golden arm bands; on both arms he had them —
in both places he had them on his arms. And the
[301] golden arm bands glistened.[4] And also he had about
the calves of his legs, leather bands — gilded leg
bands, which shone.)

726 And then, next day, when once again their boats set out, they grounded them at Nonoalco, at Ayauhcalitlan.[5] And then also came out those who went afoot, as well as all the Tlaxcallans and Otomí. Indeed, in force the Spaniards issued to fall upon [the Mexicans]. And when they came to and arrived at Nonoalco, thereupon there were battle and fighting; in truth there spread strife and war. Death was dealt on both sides. All their foes were shot at with arrows, and also all the Mexicans. On both sides equally was there suffering. Thus all day and all night they all fought.

But [there were] two great chieftains who turned not their faces, who despised those who were their foes, who set no value upon their bodies. The first man was named Tzoyectzin; the second was named Temoctzin. And a third was the [afore]mentioned Tzilacatzin.

(Auh inin Tzilacatzin otomjtl catca injc tiacauh, ipampa in itlotonxincol, ichica amo imjxco tlachiaia in iniaovan in maceoal Españoles, amo tle impan quimjttaia, vel tlacemmauhtiaia: in iquac in quittaia in Tzilacatzin, njman mocototzaia in toiaovan: auh cenca quijeiecoaia, injc quimjctizque, in aço quitepuzmjvizque, in anoço quitlequiquizvizque. Auh in Tzilacatzin, çã mjxpoloa injc amo iximachoz: in quemman tlaviztli in conmaquia, itempilol compilhuia, yoan iteocujtlanacoch ypã conmocacaia in iyoquj chipoli, çan tlapoalhuiuh in itzontecon, nezticah injc otomjtl: auh in quemmanjan çanjo in ichcavipil canactontli injc onmoquequimjlos, auh in quenmanjan injc mjxpoloa cõmaquja ihujtzoncalli, quatzone quauhtlalpiloni icuexcochtlampa temjuh, ic tlalpitiuh ichoatl injc tetlepantlaxquja, injc tetlepantlaxquj ipã quiztiuh, quijtlacacalhujtiuh in tetlepantlaxque iteocujtlamatemecauh necoccampa in ietiuh yiocanjpa ietiuh in jmac: auh in teocujtlamatemecatl cuecuecuio auh no ic in icxic ietiuh, cotzeoatl, teocujtlacotzeoatl çan petlauhquj)

Auh njmã imuztlaioc in ic no cuel oppa quijçaco in jmacal connacanato nonoalco, aiauhcalitlã: auh njman no quijçaco in tlacxipanvia yoan in ie inquijch tlaxcalteca yoan otomjtl, vel tenac in quiçaçepevitivitze in Españoles. Auh in oacico nonoalco: njmã ie ic tlaiecolo, necaliva, vel motetemman in tlaiecoliztli in iaiotl, necoc in mjcoaia inquijch mjnaloa in iniaovan, no inquijch in mexica, necoc ivi, necocolo, iuh cemjlhujtl, iuh inac in necalioac.

Çan vmen in vevei tiacaoa in amo mjxnacuepaia, in atle inpan quimatia in iniaovã catca, in amo quj-tlepiaia in innacaio. Injc ce tiacatl itoca Tzoiectzin. Injc vme itoca, Temoctzin: auh ic teiia in ic ei onteneuh in Tzilacatzin.

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[3] See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — The Ceremonies, Chapter 29.

[4] Cuecueio: probably cuecuecuio is meant.

[5] A part of Nonoalco, in Tlatelolco — Caso, op. cit.

And when the Spaniards tired, when they could achieve nothing, when they could not break through the Mexicans, then they went, and entered [their encampment], much afflicted in spirit. Their allies went following behind them.

Auh in [illegible] in Españoles, in avel qujchiuhque, in avel qujnpetla in Mexica: njman ic iaque, calaque, vel iiellel ocic, [illegible] in in[illegible]. 726

[p. 90 is blank]

726 Thirty-third Chapter, in which is told how the people of the floating gardens, those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac, and of Itztapalapan, and still others, came to help the Mexicans.

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648 And once it came to pass that the people of Xochimilco, Mizquic, Colhuacan, Mexicatzinco, and Itztapalapan sent emissaries who came to confer with Quauhtemoc and still other noblemen and chieftains. They came, saying to them: "O my beloved prince, with a little we have come to give aid to the city. Perchance it may be that thus the debt is paid [you]. These are the words of the rulers who yet guard there. In truth here dwell the rulers; so have come and assembled the eagle and ocelot [warriors] in boats, in order, they say, now to drive off our foes."

And upon this, when they had said their say, when they had spoken, thereupon [Quauhtemoc] replied to them: "It is well. Ye have shown favor [to us]; ye have suffered trials and tribulations. Help the city. Let there be battle!"

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272 After this, he gave them gifts; he gave them devices and shields, and they gave them each chocolate. To each one they gave a shallow gourd vessel of chocolate. Thereupon he said to them: "Onward! Let there be battle, O chieftains! For our foes already are come!" Thereafter went the emissaries there to where lived those of Cuitlauac; they escorted them there. And as they went, then grew the crying of war cries everywhere along the road. Thereafter there was fighting.

726 But these people of Xochimilco then also raised a war cry and fell upon the boats. In no wise did they help us, but only, then, robbed the people. They despoiled the beloved women and the small children, and the beloved old women. Then some they there slew; there these breathed their last. And still others they did not slay, but carefully lowered them into the boats.

And when already they were doing this, when already they were spiriting the people away, then chieftains raised an outcry. They said: "O Mexicans, what now are the fools doing? Let all pursue them!" Thereupon there were war cries. They gave them chase in boats.

Inic cempoalli onmatlactli omei capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn chinampaneca in Suchmjlca, cujtlavaca, yoan in Jztapalapaneca, yoan oc cequjntin valleque in quinpaleviquiuja mexica.

Auh ceppa muchiuh in ichoantin suchmjlca, cujtlaoaca mjzquica, colhoaque, Mexicatzincatl, Jztapalapanecatl, vallaivaque, qujnonotzaco in quauhtemoctzin, yoã in oc cequjntin in tlatoque, in tiacavan: qujmjlhujco. Nopiltzintzine ca achitzin ic ticpalevico in atl, in tepetl, aço velitiz ca çan ic ixtlavico in intlatol in tlatoque, in oc vmpa tlapia, ca nel njcan onoque in tlatoque, ca ovallaque, ocenqujçaco in quauhtli ocelotl in acaltica: ca qujl axcã qujcentlaçaz in toiaouh.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oconjtoque in intlatol, in ontlanonotzque njman ie ic qujmjlhuja. Ca ie qualli, oanmotlacnelilique oanqujmjhiovitique, oanqujmociavitique ma xicmopalevilican in altepetl, ma tlaiecavi:

njman ie ic qujntlauhtia, qujnmaca in tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan qujncacacavatique, cecen xicalpechtli in qujnmacaque cacaoatl: njmã ie ic qujmjlhuja. tlacuelcoatl, tla tlaiecavi tiacaoane, ca ie vitze in toiaovan, njma ie ic vi in titlantli in vmpa onoque in cujtlavaca in qujnvalhujcaque. Auh in oiaque njman ic maantimoquetz in tlacavaca in ixqujch vtlica: njman ie ic necalioa.

Auh in ichoantin in, in Suchimjlca njman ie ic no icavaca, yoan mocalhujcquj: amo ma techpaleviqueque, çan njmã ie ic tenamoia, qujnanamoque in cioatzitzinti, yoan in pipiltzitzinti, yoan in jlamatzitzin njman cequjntin vncan q'mjctique vncan ihiiotl qujz. Auh in oc cequjntin amo qujnmjctique, çan ivian acalco qujmontemovique.

Auh in ie iuh qujchioa inin ie temoalpoloa: njman ic tzatzique in tequjvaque, qujtoque. Mexicae tlein ic qujchioa in, tlavelilloque? ma vallatotoca: njman ie ic tlacavaca, qujntoca acaltica.

726 And all the boats which were at Nonoalco then were assembled there; all left from there in order to pursue. Then they proceeded to hem in those of Xochimilco. Thereupon they slew them; they speared and beat them. But some they only took. And almost all died there; in truth, there they were destroyed. And all [the women] whom they had seized, all of them they left there. None of the beloved women were taken away.

And while this was already coming to pass, then the Spaniards settled back.

And just as those of Xochimilco had devised, and would have done, just so [the Spaniards] would do away with us through deceit. And all whom they seized of Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, etc., they thereupon brought and hurried there to Yacacolco, where now is [the Church of] Santa Ana.[1] There were Quauhtemoc and Mayeuatzin, ruler of Cuitlauac (for he was here at the time of the war).

And when [those of Cuitlauac] had been brought, they greeted Mayeuatzin. They said to him: O my younger brother, [may it] be well with thee." But Mayeuatzin replied to them: "You fools, have I perchance bidden you? What have you done?" And Quauhtemoc then said to Mayeuatzin: "O my younger brother, do thy work." And Mayeuatzin thereupon offered up as sacrifices four, whom he slew, of his vassals. Likewise Quauhtemoc slew four.

And later, of all who were included among the captives, it was commanded that they be slain, everywhere in the temples of the devils. Everywhere the captives gave blood to [the images].

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687 And afterwards the Mexicans were wroth because of this. They said: "Verily, here among us, mingling with us, are the people of Xochimilco; they have already made their homes here. Do they not, in truth, deliver their messages [to our foes]? So these we shall take forth; they shall perish!" And upon this, when judgment was indeed pronounced, thereupon were drawn out all the beloved women and old women, and those already mature. All were slain. None were spared, because of those who went bearing false witness of them and doing undeserved ill: those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac who came [saying] they would help us.

Auh in nonovalco in onoca in jxqujch acalli: njmã ic muchi vmpa mocemjtquic, much vmpa in inic tlantoca: njmã ic quijmacaciujlico in Suchimjlca: njman ie ic temjctia, tetzitzili, teviviequj. Auh ocquijntin çan quijmacique: auh vel muchintin, vncã mjcque, vel oncan mjxtlatique. Auh in jxqujchtin in quijmacique, çã muchtin vncan quijncauhq̃ aiac vicoc in cioamitzitzinti.

Auh in jquac ie iuh muchioa in, njman ie mocotzotlalique in Españoles.

Auh in juh quijmolhuja, in juh quichivaznequja xochimjlca, çan ic techmacalpoloznequja: auh in jxquichtin quijmacique in suchimjlca: in Cujtlavaca. &c. njman ie ic quijvica, quijntototza in vmpa Iacaculco, in axcan ie sant Ana: vmpa icaca in Quauhtemoctzi, yoan in Maichoatzin, cujtlaoac tlatoanj (ca njcan ipan muchiuh in iauiotl).

Auh in oaxivaque contlapal[illegible]manj in Maichoatzin: conjlhuja. Nicauhtzine, maciolicatzin: auh in maichoatzin, quijnvalilhuja. In antlapalpopul cuix namechcujcujtlavi, tle oamaxque. Auh in quauhtemoctzin njman quijoalilhuj in Maichoatzin. Nicauhtzine ma ximotlacotili: auh in Maichoatzin: njman ie ic tlamjctia, navi in cõmjcti in jmacevalhoan: no navi in conmjcti in Quauhtemoctzin.

Auh in çatepan in ac onaquj in mamalti, oallanavatiloc injc mjctilozque novian in interopan tlatlacatecolo, vel novian tepanjaque in mamalti.

Auh çatepã ie ic qualanj in Mexica: quijtoque. Ca njcan totlan onoc, techoalnenc in suchimjlcatl in ie njcan chanchiva, amo nel vmpa contlalia in jtlatol. Auh inin ça tiquinquixtizque, çan popoliui: auh in ie iuhquj, in ovel motzotzon, njman ie ic tequixtiz in cioatzitzinti, in jlamatzitzin yoã in ie tlapaliui, muchintin mjmjctiloque, aocac moçaujque, ca iuhquja quijmontlatetlevia, quijmotlacujtlachivia in ovallaque in techpalevizquja suchimjlcatl, in cujtlaoacatl.

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[1] Spanish text: "en el Tlatilulco." A barrio, "todo del gobierno de Cuauhtémoc, donde actualmente se encuentra el templo de Santa Ana en la calle del Peralvillo," according to R. H. Barlow: "Una pintura de la conquista en el templo de Santiago," Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos, VI (1945), p. 58. Caso (op. cit.) identifies it as a [illegible] or neighborhood in the barrio of Sta. Ana Atenantitech, near Tlatelolco.

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And then, some days later, two boats came there to Yauhtenco.[2] The Spaniards came alone, proceeding in the early dawn. There were no [allied Indian] men; [the Spaniards] came quite alone. And upon this, when they had beached their boats, they thereupon leaped out on dry land. And when they had set forth on the firm ground, then they came giving battle. They went each firing guns and crossbows.

And the chieftains flattened themselves behind walls; they remained hidden in houses or behind walls. And the sentinel [had] as his care and charge [to know] when to break forth. And when it was already good time, at the right moment, he then cried out and said: "O Mexicans, onward!"

Auh njman iquezquilhujoc, ometl in acalli quiçaco, vncan in iauhtenco çan mjxcavico in Españoles, ioatzinco in quiçaco, aiac tlacatl, çan oc valmjxcavitiaque. Auh in ie iuhquj in oconaxiltique imacal: njman ie ic valtlalhoacaquiça: auh in ovaltlalhoacaquiçaque njman ie ic mjcaltivitze, tlatlequiquixtivitze, tlatepuzmjvitivitze.

Auh in tiacavan cenca mopachoa tenantitlan, yoá quijmototoctitimanj in calli anoço tepantli. Auh in iautlachixquj vel yix itequjuh in canjn neovaz: auh in ie qualcã in ie inman, njman ie ic tzatzi: qujtoa. Mexicae ma ie cuel.

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2. Part of Nonoalco. — Ibid.

[p. 94 is blank]

726 Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which is told how the Mexicans took captive and seized fifteen[1] Spaniards.

"O Mexicans, onward!"

On this, the sentinel raised a war cry. [Shell] trumpets were sounded, and they charged with shield.

Thereupon they took after the Spaniards, they followed dispersing them and taking captives. Fifteen of the Spaniards were seized. Then they brought them in. And their boats [the enemy] withdrew, going to stand by in the middle of the lagoon.

727 And when they had brought the eighteen where they were to die, there at the place called Tlacochcalco,[2] they thereupon stripped them; they took from them all their arms and their cotton armor, and all which was on them. All they tore from them. Then they were made slaves; they slew them. And their companions remained watching them from the middle of the lagoon.[3]

726 And at one time they put in two of their boats there at Xocotitlan.[4] When they had landed, thereupon they went looking in the settlement of the people of Xocotitlan. And Tzilacatzin and other chieftains, when they saw the Spaniards, set upon them and sent them fleeing, casting stones at them as they went. They came to chase the Spaniards into the water.

And another time [the Spaniards] brought their boats there to Coyonacazco[5] to wage war and give battle. And on arriving, then some Spaniards came out. Leading them came Castañeda Xicotencatl,[6] who walked wearing his [device of] quetzal feather

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli omnavi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn ichoantin Mexica tlamaque in qujmacique Españoles caxtolti.

Mexicae ma ie cuel:

njman ie ic tlacaoaca, yoan tlapitzalo yoan chimallaça in iautlachjxquj:

njman ie ic qujntoca in Españoles, qujmaiauhtivi yoã qujmantivi, caxtoltin in anoque in Españoles: njmã ic qujnoalhujcaque: auh in jmacal njmã ic qujtzinqujxtique, anepantla conteccato.

Auh in oqujmaxitico caxtoltin omei in vncan mjqujzque itoca: tlacochcalco: njmã ie ic qujnpepetlaoa, much qujncujlique in iniautlatquj, yoã in jnjchcavipil, yoan in jxqujch in intech catca, moch qujntepeoaltique: njman ie ic tlacoti qujnmjctia: auh in jmjcnjoan qujnvalitztoque anepantla.

Auh ceppa qujcalaqujque vntetl in imacal in vmpa xocotitlã: in oconacanque, njmã ie ic vmpa itztivi in incalla xocoteca. Auh in Tzilacatzin, yoan oc cequjntin tiacaoan: in oqujmittaque in Españoles: njman intech oalietiqujzque, qujnoallalochtocaque, qujntepachotivi, atlan qujntepeoaco in Españoles.

Auh ie no ceppa qujoalhujcaque in jmacal in vncan coionacazco injc tlaiecozque, injc mjcalizque. Auh in oacico njman ie valqujzque cequjntin Españoles, qujnvaliacan in castañeda xicotencatl: iquetzaltemal ictinemj. Nimã ie ic vallatepuzmjvia: auh

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[1] Eighteen are mentioned later. Cf. also Bustamante, op. cit., p. 189 (chapter heading). The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* has fifteen.

[2] Bustamante, loc. cit.: "*en que estaba una casa que era como casa de audiencia, cerca de donde agora es la iglesia de Santa Ana.*"

[3] Corresponding Spanish text: "*los sacrificaron los [illegible] delante del ídolo que se llamaba [illegible] y los otros españoles estaban mirando desde los bergantines como los mataban.*"

[4] Bustamante, op. cit., p. 190: "*que se dejaba [el barrio de] S. Francisco.*" Caso (op. cit.) says it is the same as [illegible], in [illegible].

[5] Bustamante, loc. cit.: "*cerca del barrio de Sta. Lucía (que por otro nombre se llama Amanalco).*" Caso (op. cit.) identifies Coyonacazco as a part of the *barrio* of [illegible], to the north in Tlatelolco. R. H. Barlow ("Cinco siglos de las calles de Tlatelolco," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, IX [1947], p. 32) places it "*no lejos de la estación del Ferrocarril de Hidalgo.*" A map in Antonio Espejo and R. H. Barlow: "El plano más antiguo de Tlatelolco," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, I (1944), shows it in the northeast part of the city.

[6] Bustamante, loc. cit.: "*Rodrigo de Castañeda (á quien los indios llamaban Xicotencatl, por [illegible] por [illegible]).*"

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726 balls. Thereupon they shot iron bolts; but only one was pierced, in the forehead, wherefore he then died. Castañeda was the one who shot the arrow. And the chieftains moved in against him and they drove [the Spaniards] into the water, stoning them. And Castañeda there would have perished, but he clung to the boat and thus they carried him to Xocotitlan.

[349] And one boat lay at Tetenantepotzco, where the walls curve.[7] And another boat lay there at Toteco,[8] [491] where the road goes direct to Tepetzinco.[9] It only lay on guard in the water, and at nightfall they took it [away].

And some days thereafter the Spaniards once again resolved [to war upon] us.[10] Then they came, [443 317] and chose the Quauecatitlan[11] road which led direct to the salt market. But there on the Quauecatitlan road, they could not spread out. So all those of Tlaxcalla, Acolhuacan, and Chalco thereupon filled in the canals.[12] And on the road where they could not spread out, they cast adobes and roof beams; door lintels, pillars, and round logs were set in; they threw bundles of reeds into the water. And when it was filled in, then the Spaniards, disposed [in battle order], very slowly proceeded: a cotton banner led them; they went blowing trumpets and beating drums. And behind them went in position all the Tlaxcallans, and indeed all those of [other allied] [533] cities. Those of Tlaxcalla became very brave; they shook their heads, beat their chests, and sang. The Mexicans also sang. There was chanting on both sides. They intoned whatsoever they remembered. Thus they were able to animate themselves.

And as they reached Tlalhuacan,[13] all the chieftains were crouched; they stretched themselves out very flat, and were well hidden. They hid their

ça ce inmjxtoc inquac, njman ic momjquili: ichoatl in valtemj in castañeda. Auh in tiacaoã itech itoquijque, atlan quijnnemjtique, quijntetepachoque: auh vncã mjcqujnequja in castañeda: auh ça acaltitech pilcatia inic qujvicaque xocotitlan.

Auh centetl acalli onoca tetenantepotzco, vncã in colivi tetenamjtl: auh in oc centetl acalli vmpa onoca in teotecco: in jpan vtli tlamelaoa Tepetzinco, ça tlatlapixtoca in atlan. Auh in ie ioa qujvica.

Auh iquezquilhujoc ie no ceppa techcentlatalhuj in Españoles: nec vitze, ic qujoalmotilique in quauecatitlan vtli, in callamelauhticac iztanamacoian. Auh in vncan in quauecatitlan in vtli ca moieuhque. Auh in jxqujch tlaxcaltecatl, in aculhoacatl, in chalcatl: njman ie ic catzupa in acalutli: yoan in oca moieuhque vtli: contlaça in xamjtl, yoan in calquevitl, in tecoc in tlaixquatl in tlaquetzalli, in [illegible]mjmjlli, in acatl quijcujtlalpia in contepeoa atlan. Auh in jquac in omotzop nec valmotecma in Españoles, cencã ivian in iativitze, qujnjacana in quachpanjtl, tlapitztivitze, tlatzotzontivitze. Auh imjcampa onotivitze in ie ixqujch tlaxcaltecatl, yoan in ie ixqujch altepetl, cenca muchicava moquaquacuecuechoa, motlatzotzona in tlaxcalteca, cujca, no cujca in mexica necoccampa cujco, queça in ça ço tlein qujlnamjqui, ic mellaquaoa muchioa.

Auh in oacico tlalhoacan in tiacaoã vel nepachoalo, vel mopachoa vel netlatilo, quijtetecuontlaliaia, quijchixtoque in quemman teuitilos, in quemman quj-heads. They waited until the time that the command to charge would be given, the time that they would hear the battle cry, and the order to advance. And when the cry was given, [it was]: "O Mexicans, onward against them!" Then the Tlapaneca Ecatzin, an Otomí [warrior], came to engage them and to hurl himself at them. He said: "O chieftains of Tlatilulco, onward! Who are these barbarians? Move forward!" Then he proceeded to throw himself against a Spaniard and struck him to the ground. This [Ecatzin] came first to cast him to the ground. He did it to him first. And when he had gone to overthrow him, then they went dragging the Spaniard off.

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[7] Corresponding Spanish text: "cerca de aquella yglesia que se llama ahora Santa Lucia." Caso (op. cit.) places it in la Garita de Peralvillo, barrio of [illegible].

[8] "Cerca de la Concepción [illegible]." — Caso, op. cit.

[9] El Peñón de los Baños — east of the center of Tenochtitlan, in the lake. However, Espejo and Barlow, op. cit., p. 46 and map, locate it as a hill in the northwestern part of Tlatelolco.

[10] Corresponding Spanish text: "determinaron entre sí los españoles de darles guerra por allí."

[11] Quauhecatitlan [illegible] — "calle que iba derecho de Nonoalco al Mercado de la Sal. . . . prolongada hasta encontrar el Albarradón y probablemente corresponde con la Calzada de Nonoalco, Mercado, Almacenes, Carvajal y Rosario." — Caso, op. cit. Espejo and Barlow, op. cit., show it in their map as in the northeast part of the city.

[12] In Bustamante, loc. cit., the version is somewhat different from what appears in either the Spanish or Nahuatl text of the Florentine Codex: "por razon de los españoles que los indios habian muerto en su presencia, tornaron á proponer guerra de nuevo, haciendo juramento solemne que la guerra no habia de cesar hasta que vengasen la muerte de sus hermanos los españoles, y no quedase hombre dellos que no muriese en sus manos: de ahí adelante comenzaron á cegar todas las acequias y caminos de agua por donde pudiesen entrar las [illegible] donde los bergantines no pudiesen entrar, y así comenzaron á derrocar casas, y allanar todas las acequias."

[13] Corresponding Spanish text: "un barrio que se llama Tlilhuacan que es agora [illegible]" (San Martín).

cequjnque tzatzilizth, in tecivitilizth: auh in otzatzique. Mexicae, ma ie cuel ichoatl: njman ic qujvalitzti, in Tlapanecatl hecatzin, otomjtl, inca onmomotlac: qujto. Tlatilulcae, ma ie cuel, aqujque inin Tenjme, xivalnenemjcan: njman ic ica ce maiavito in Español, tlalli ic qujvitec: ichoatl in vallacattivia in qujmaiavito in qujvallacattivia. Auh in oqujmaiavito: nec quivilanato in Español. 726

[p. 98 is blank]

[redacted]

726 Thirty-fifth Chapter. Here is related how once again the Mexicans took captives and seized Spaniards, and, as counted, the captured Spaniards [were] fifty-three. And also [were taken] many men of Tlaxcalla, Texcoco, Chalco, and Xochimilco. Also [it is told] how they slew all in sacrifice there before those which were their gods.

And when this had come to pass, then the chieftains who had been crouched, together fell upon them; they fell upon them from their ambush in the spaces among houses. And the Spaniards, when they saw this, [were] as if drunk. Thereupon were
727 captives made. Many men of Tlaxcalla, Acolhua-
726 can, Chalco, Xochimilco, etc., were taken. Verily, myriads of captives were made and men slain. Truly, they forced the Spaniards into the water, and indeed all the [allied] people.

And the road became very slippery. It could no longer be traveled; each one could only slip and slide. And the captives were dragged along. Here in this place the [Spaniards'] standard was taken. Here it was seized. Those of Tlatilulco took it. It was captured there where now is [the church] named San Martín. But [the Spaniards] showed no concern over it; they were not troubled over it.[1] And others escaped [the Mexicans'] hands. They went leaving them exhausted at Colhuacatonco,[2] at the edge of the canal. There they retired to establish themselves.

727 And after this they took the captives there to Yacacolco. They were urged forward; they went surrounding their captives. One went weeping; one singing; one crying war cries while striking the mouth with the palm of the hand. And when they had been brought to Yacacolco, thereupon they were placed in rows, in files. One by one they proceeded to the small pyramid, where they were slain. First went the Spaniards. They took the lead. But all those of the [allied] cities came only last, following. And when they had been slain, then they strung the

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli capitulo: vncan moteneoa, in quenjn ic no ceppa tlamaque mexica in qujmacique Españoles, in juh mopouhque in axivaque Españoles, ontecpãtli ommatlactli omei: yoã no mjequjn tlaxcalteca, Tetzcoca, chalca, xuchmjlca. Auh in quenjn mochtin, vncã qujnmjctique in·ixpan inTeteuoan catca./.

Auh in ie iuhquj in jxqujchtin tiiacavan, nec qujvalcentlaça in oncan pachoticatca, caltzalantli qujvaltotocatiquijque. Auh in Españoles in oqujttaque ça iuhqujn tlaviaque: njman ie ic tlamalo, mjequjntin in axivaque in tlaxcalteca, in aculhoaque, in chalca, in xuchmjlca, &c. vel tenecetlamaloc, tenacemjctoc, vel atlan qujnnemjtique in Españoles, yoã in ie ixqujch tlacatl:

auh in vtli vel petzcauhtimoquetz, aoc vel nenemoa, ça nepepetzcolo, ça nenalacolo. Auh in mamaltin tevivilanoc. Ie vncan in, in axioac in vandera, vncan anoc: ichoantin caciq in Tlatilulca: vncan in macic, in ie axcan sanct Martin moteneoa: çan atle ipã qujttaque, amo ōnecujtlaviloc. Auh in oc cequjntin tematitlampa qujzque: vmpa qujmōciauhcavato in colhoacatonco, acaloteco, vmpa valmomanato.

Auh njmã ie ic qujvica in mamaltin in vmpa iacacolco, tetototzalo, qujmololhujtivi in jmmalhoan, in aca chocatiuh, in aca cujcatiuh, in aca motenvitectiuh. Auh in onconaxitiloc iacacolco: njmã ie ic tevipano, tevipanolo, cecenteca oniietimanj in mumuzco, in vncan tlamjctilo, iacattiaq in Españoles, conjacatique: auh ça vetztiuetzique, ontlatoqujlique in ixqujchtin altepeoaque. Auh in ontlamjctiloc, nec qujnquaquauhço in intzontecon in Españoles: no qujçoçoque in cavallosme intzontecon, tlatzintlan in qujtecaque: auh in intzontecon Españoles tlacpac

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[1] It was captured by an Indian from Tlatilulco named Tlapanecatl or Tlapanecatl hecatzin, according to the version in Bustamante, op. cit., pp. 191-192; here it is said that this capture prompted the capture of the fifty-three Spaniards.

[2] A barrio in the Parcialidad de Sta. María la Redonda Cuepopan or Tlaquechiuhcan; now bounded N. by Calle del Organo, E., República de Chile, S., Perú, W., Allende (approximately).—Caso, op. cit.

727 [severed] heads of the Spaniards, each one, on the [horizontal] staves [of the skull rack]. They also strung up the heads of the horses, arranging them below, while the heads of the Spaniards were above.[3] It appeared as if they were strung facing the [rising] sun. But [as for] all the various [allied] people, they did not string up the heads of the people of distant provinces. And fifty-three Spaniards were captured, and four horses.

726 Nevertheless, in all places watch was kept. There was fighting. Not because of [this success] did posting of watchmen cease. Everywhere those of Xochimilco went hemming us in, in their boats. On both sides were captives taken; on both sides there was killing.

722 262 And all the common folk suffered torments of famine. Many died of hunger. No more did they drink pure, clean water[4] — only brackish water did they drink. Of it many people died, and many people therefore [suffered from] a bloody flux, of which they died. [137] And all was eaten — lizards and swallows; and maize straw,[5] and salt-grass.[6] And they ate *colorín* wood,[7] and they ate the glue orchid,[8] and the frilled flower;[9] and tanned hides, and buckskin, which they roasted, baked, toasted, or burned, so that they could eat them; and they gnawed sedum,[10] and mud bricks.[11] Never had there been

in onoca, in çoçotoca, tonatiuh qujxnamjctoca. Auh in jxqujch nepapan tlacatl, amo qujnçoçoque in intzontecõ in veca tlaca. auh in axioque Españoles ontecpantli onmatlactli omei, yoan nauhtetl cavallos:

auh tel novian tlatlapielo, necalioa: amo ic mocacoa in tlapieliztli, in novian techiaoalotinemj in xuchmjlca in acaltica, necoccampa tlamalo, necoccampa mjcoa.

Auh in jxqujch macevalli, cenca tlaihiioviaia maianoia, mjec in mapitzmjqujli aocmo quja in qualli atl, in ecatl, ça tequjxqujatl in quja ic mjec tlacatl momjqujli, yoã mjec tlacatl ic tlaelli qujtlaz ic mjc: yoan much qualoc in cuetzpalin, in cujcujtzcatl, yoan Eloçacatl, yoan in tequjxqujçacatl: yoan qujquaquaque in tzumpanquavitl, yoan qujquaquaque in tzacuxuchitl, yoan in tlaqujli, yoan in cuetlaxtli yoan in maçaeoatl, qujtletleoatzaia, qujmooxqujaia qujtotopotzaia, qujtotoponjaia injc qujquaia yoã in tetzmetl, yoan in xantetl qujtetexoaia: aoc tle iuhquj inic tlaihiioviloc, temamauhti in tzaqualoc, vel toniac

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[3] Corresponding Spanish text: "*los españoles mas altos . . . los otros indios mas baxos . . . los cavallos mas baxos.*"

[4] Seler, op. cit., p. 590, omits this period.

[5] *Elopacatl*: leaves, or straw, of maize, which Mexican cattle eat, green or dry; in other words, the plant itself after the maize grains have been harvested (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, pp. 271-272, it is described as "*heno . . . es muy verde y tiene pencas como el trigo, y es blanco, cómenlo los conejos y otros animales.*" Emmart, op. cit., p. 239, describing it as a diuretic and purgative, suggests "maize straw" as a name.

[6] *Tequixquiçacatl*: probably pasture on saline lands, of the variety called "grama," creeps over the ground, putting forth small roots (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — For this, Sahagún, op. cit., p. 271, has "*heno muy delgado y espinoso, que se hace en tierra salitrosa . . . es bueno para quemar.*" Emmart, op. cit., p. 223, citing Standley (op. cit.), calls it nitre grass or couch grass, possibly *Distichlis spicata* (L.) Greene. Grama (*tequixquiçacatl* in Molina, op. cit.), Santamaría (op. cit., II, p. 31) identifies as *Panicum repens* L., very abundant in the Americas.

[7] *Tzompanquauitl*. According to Sahagún (op. cit., III, p. 275), "*es árbol mediano, tiene ramas acopadas, tiene la copa redonda y de buen parecer, tiene unas flores que se llaman equimixóchitl; son muy coloradas y de buen parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; las hojas de este árbol se llaman equimitl*"; p. 348: "*Equimitl. Árbol, flor y fruto del Colorín. Erythrina coralloides. D.C. Leguminosas.*" Santamaría, op. cit., III, p. 321, giving the same botanical identification and *E. americana* Mill., adds the current common name (*zompantle*), and observes of the bean (*colorín*) that it is "*especie de frijolillo rojo, duro que contiene un alcaloide muy venenoso.*"

[8] *Tzacuxochitl*. Emmart, op. cit., p. 309, calling it a "glue flower," identifies it as *Bletia campanulata* La Llave and Lex (?), *Epidendrum pastoris* La Llave and Lex (?), *Oncidium maculatum* Knuth (?) — all orchids. Hernández, op. cit., II, pp. 375-376: *Tzacuxochitl o tzauhtli floridus*: *Bletia campanulata* La Llave y Lex, or *B. coccinea* La Llave y Lex.

[9] *Tlaquilli*. In Molina, op. cit., *tlaquilli* is plaster or stucco. *Tlaquilin*, however, is given by Emmart, op. cit., p. 226, as "frilled flower" — probably *Mirabilis jalapa* L., known as *maravilla*. It is medicinal. Santamaría, op. cit., III, p. 186, adds these common names: *San Diego de la noche, arrebolera,* and *trompetilla*.

[10] *Tetzmetl*. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 249, says it is like *siempreviva*: "*hojas muy verdes y carnosas y redondillas, y también mana leche, y tiene las ramas coloradas. . . .* [illegible] *. . .* [illegible]*, y* [illegible] *y larguillas . . . lo interior de esta raíz molido*" (medicinal). Emmart identifies it as *Sedum dendroideum* Moçino and Sessé — commonly, *siempreviva* (op. cit., p. 223). Santamaría, op. cit., III, p. 85, adds *S.* [illegible] H. B. K. and *S.* [illegible]

[11] Cf., however, Seler, op. cit., p. 550: "*und Stock und Leder und Hirschhaut, die brieten, buken, rösteten; brannten, assen es so, und* [illegible] *und Lehmziegel und assen Tezontl.*" Of [illegible], Sahagún (op. cit., p. 289) says it is a hot country plant used for coloring. Santamaría, op. cit., III, p. 183 ([illegible]), says it is "*nombre vulgar de varias plantas melastomáceas, como el capulincillo o tigua* (*Conostegia* [illegible]), *el* [illegible] (*Miconia laevigata*), *y otras.*"

100 -

such suffering. It was terrifying how they were besieged; truly, in great numbers they starved. And quite calmly [the enemy] hemmed us in and contained us.

in apizmjc: auh çan jvian techvalcaltechpachotiaque, 722
çan jviñ techololalique. 262

[p. 102 is blank]

T26

Thirty-sixth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards for the first time came to and entered the market place here in Tlatilulco.

And at one time it came to pass that four horse[men] came to enter the market place. And when they had proceeded to come in, they then traveled in a circle; they followed about the outer edge of the market place and went lancing the chieftains. Many were the dead. They had penetrated the market place at this time — the first time that they had come to look at the market place. Then they went; they fled.

And the chieftains dared to come up to and give them chase. And at the time they had come, entering the market place for the first time, [it was] unexpected; they had given no warning.

And also this was the time that they burned the temple.[1] They laid fire to it. And when they had set it afire, then it flared up. Very high rose the blaze, the tongues of flame. It was as if the fire roared and kept flaring up. And when [the Tlatilulcans] saw that the temple was now burning, then there was weeping; there were tearful greetings. For it was thought that there would be plundering.[2]

And after there had been battle for a long time in the market place, the war spread to the outskirts. Little by little, they abandoned the wall,[3] there at Tenexnamacoyan. And there at Copalnamacoyan,[4] and at Atecocolecan[5] and at Xochicalco,[6] [the Mexicans][7] entered among the houses. The chieftains took positions on the wall. And all the houses of those of Quauhquechollan, which stood around the market place, all became a barrier. Many [of the Mexicans] took their places upon the roof terraces,

Inic compoalli on caxtolli oce capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles iancujcan calaqujco tianqujzco in njcan tlatilulco.

Auh ceppa mochiuh nauhteme in cavallos in calaqujco tianqujzco. Auh in ocalaqujco, nec tlanaoatl qujtoca, tianqujztentli qujtoca in tiiacavan qujnxixiltivi, mjequjntin in mjcque concujtlaxeloco in tianqujztli: iquac iancujcan qujttaco in tianqujztli: njman ic iaque, ic motepuztique.

Auh in tiacaoan intech motlapaloque qujntocaq: auh in iquac calaqujco iancujcan tianqujzco amo tenemachpan, amo qujteimachitique:

auh yoan njmā iquac qujtlatique in teucalli, contlemjnque: auh in ocontlemjnque nec cuetlan, cenca vel ecoac in tletl, in tlenenepilli, iuhqujn ihicoioca tletl yoan cuecuetlanj. Auh in oqujttaque in ie tlatla in teucalli: njman ie ic nechoqujlilo, nechoqujztlapalolli: iuh nemachoc in ca ie ontenamoieloz.

Auh vecauhtica in necalioac in tianqujzco, vel tetemman in iauiotl, aiancā in qujcauhque in tenamjtl, in vncan in tenexnamacoiā. Auh in vncan copalnamacoian, yoan atecocolecan, yoā in vncan xuchicalco in caltzalan, in calacoaia, vel ipā mantinenca in tiacavan in tenamjtl. Auh in ixqujch quauhquecholteca calli in tianqujztli qujiavalotoc moch tenamjtl mochiuh mjequjntin tlapanco onoca in vallamotla, qujoallaça in tetl, in mjtl, oallatepachoa, vallamjna, yoan moch mocujtlacoionj in quauhquechol-

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[1] Corresponding Spanish text: "el mesmo dia pusieron fuego al cu mayor que era de Vitzilobuchtli."

[2] *Ibid.*: "tenieron mal aguero de ver quemar el cu."

[3] *Ibid.*: "derrocaron los españoles estos paredones o albarradas con el artilleria."

[4] Probably near Yacacolco, Tlilhuacan, and Atezcapan, in Tlatilulco, on the Amanac road or [illegible]: now Calle de González Bocanegra. — Caso, *op. cit.* Tenexnamacoyan can be presumed to have been nearby.

[5] Sta. Cruz Atenantitech, now "a la esquina noroeste de los patios de los Ferrocarriles." — R. H. Barlow: "Las ocho ermitas de Santiago Tlatelolco," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, IX (1947), p. 65.

[6] In a *barrio* of Tlatilulco, bounded now, N., by an extension of Calle de la Constancia; E., approximately by Peralvillo; S., Matamoros; and W., extension of Sta. María la Redonda. — Caso, *op. cit.*

[7] From here on, Tlatilulco is the scene of battle. Doubtless warriors of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco fought together. The term "Mexicans," from this point forward, in brackets, implies Indians of both these cities.

726 in order to throw rocks. They cast down stones and darts; they cast rocks and shot arrows. And all the back walls of the houses of the people of Quauhquechollan[8] were pierced with openings. They made small openings. And when again the horse[men] pursued them, then they would try to cling to their legs and cut off their advance. [Then] the chieftains quickly entered [the openings].

And at one time it came to pass that the Spaniards proceeded to enter Acatl yiacapan.[9] Then there was plundering, and poor, common folk were spirited away. And when the chieftains noted it, then they fell upon the [enemy] chieftains. There came to stand a shorn one, named Axoquentzin. He pursued his foes. He forced them to let [the common folk] go; he made them turn about. And this chieftain died there. They shot him with an iron bolt, there, in the breast. When they shot him, the arrow pierced his heart. He lay as if stretching after a sleep.[10] So had he died. And then our foes withdrew to establish themselves.

And there at Yacacolco,[11] similarly was there battle. The Spaniards[12] who shot iron bolts came in order to aid and join the Four Lords,[13] who had gone to close off the road. And the chieftains then crouched, in order to cut into their rear as the sun already hung [low]. And at this point, when they were already coming, some of our foes climbed upon the roof terrace. And, crying out, they said: "Ho, O Tlaxcallans! Hasten here! Here are our foes!" Then they cast down darts upon those who were spread out on the ground. Then they broke through.[14]

Slowly [the Spaniards] came to reach Yacacolco, where the battle had spread to the outskirts. They had come only to skirmish; they could not break the Tlatilulcans, who were on the other side of the water, shooting arrows and casting rocks at them. No overpass, no bridge did [the Spaniards] take.

teca calli, achitoton quijcoionjque. Auh in iquac in no valitoca in cavallome, in ic no quijcxopiloznequj, in ic quijniacatzacujlisnequj: vmpa cacalactivetzi in tiiacavan.

Auh ceppa mochiuh in Españoles: acatl yiacapan in valcalacq̃ nec tenamoielo, nec teçaçaco in macevaltzitzinti. Auh in oquittaque in tiiacavan: nec qujvallaça in tiiacavan, vncan icativitz quachic: itoca Axoquentzin qujntocac in jiaovan, qujntetlaçalti, qujmmalacacho: auh inin tiacauh vncã momjqujli, vncan qujtepuzmjvij yielpan, in qujtlaxilique, yiollopan in qujtlaxilique tepuzmjtl, iuhqujn necochmano inic ommomjqujli: auh njmã ic mocototztlalique in toiaovan.

Auh in vmpa in iacacolco: çan no ivi in tlaiecolo, in Espanoles in tlatepuzmjvia tecpantivitze, qujnpalevitivitze, qujntlamatilitivitze in nauhtecutli, qujtzacutivitze in vtli. Auh in tiacavan nec nepachole, injc qujncujtlaxeloque, ie ommopiloa in tonatiuh. Auh in ie iuhquj in ie vitze: cequjntin tlapanco tlecoque in toiaovan: auh in otzatzic, qujto. huj tlaxcaltecae, xioalnenemjcan, njcan cate in amoiaovan: nec qujvallaça in mjtl, in impan in mopechoteca, nec xitinque:

yiolic onacico in iacaculco vncã motetemmã in iaoiotl: çan vncã onmotzotzonaco avel qujnpetlaque in Tlatilulca, in amac onoque qujnvalmjna, qujnvaltepachoa aoc tle in panoanj, aoc tle acoepanavantli, ocaanque.

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[8] Same [illegible] Xochitlan (note 6); probably the market was [illegible] —Garibay, op. cit.

[9] Bustamante, op. cit., p. 194: "Otro día los españoles [illegible] á Tlatilulco por la parte del patio donde estaba el Cú grande de Vitzilopuchtli, por el [illegible] del mismo que se llama Acatlyacapan."

[10] If read [illegible], the passage would be translated: "It was as if [the arrow] extended on both sides, so that he perished."

[11] Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible] los españoles que [illegible] de la parte de [illegible]." In Bustamante, op. cit., p. 195, the fighting is said to have taken place at [illegible], "que es á donde está agora la iglesia de Santa Ana."

[12] Españoles: the tilde is omitted in the MS.

[13] See Chapter 14.

[14] Bustamante, op. cit., p. 195: "y donde todos juntos los españoles y tlaxcaltecas, algunos tlaxcaltecas y españoles subieron sobre las azoteas [illegible] Tlatilulco [illegible] y dieron voces á los que [illegible] ... [illegible] que vuestros enemigos están aquí en celada! Y luego comenzaron á [illegible] á los que [illegible] la celada, [illegible] y los de la celada como vieron que ya los habían visto, comenzaron á huir."

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Thirty-seventh Chapter. Here is told how the Mexicans laboriously uncovered by night the waterways which the Spaniards had filled in by day.

And our foes were filling in the canals. And when the enemies had gone, once more [the Mexicans] took up the rocks with which the foes had filled them in. When dawn broke, once again it was even as it had been the day before. Often they so did, where [the Spaniards] had filled in the canals—immediately taking up the stones, the wood, etc.—so that by a little the war was lengthened, and gradually [the Spaniards] broke through [the Mexicans]. For these canals were looked upon as great walls.

And [as for] the Spaniards and all the Tlaxcallans, their common charge was the road, the highway to Yacacolco, and to Tlilhuacan and Atezcapan.[1] And Yacacolco, Cuepopan,[2] Apauazcan,[3] and Atliceuhyan, with which went Ayacac[4] and Totecco, were the charge of those of Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, Mizquic, Colhuacan, and Itztapalapan. It became their common task to give battle in boats.

And the boatmen and archers of Atliceuhyan and Ayacac girded themselves to come to grips with them. They lost no time. In truth, they were evenly matched. [It was] as if it rained barbed spears; like serpents, arrows streamed and poured. When they hurled them with spear throwers, it was as if a deep yellow mass spread over the foes.

And a number of chieftains—the Tezcacoacatl Xiuhcoacatzin, the Tepanecatl Quaquatzin,[5] Ulmitzin, and Itzcuintzin, people of Yacacolco, whose houses were situated there, neither tarried, nor abandoned their beloved women and children. With difficulty they went to bring them safely to a house by another canal which was in Amaxac.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli omome capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenin Mexica in cihuiuitiuia in quitlatlapoaia in atl in ioaltica, in vncan catzupaia Españoles in tlaca. 726

Auh in toiaovan, catzupeviae in acalutli. Auh in onoiaque in iavme ic no ceppa quiquixtia in tetl injc oquicatzupca iaume: in otlatvic ic no ceppa iuhcan, in iuhcan catca ialhoa: muchipa iuh quichiuhque in vncã catzupaia in acalotli, in çan njmã quivalquixtiaia in tetl in quavitl. &c. ic achi vecauac in iauiotl, aiacan in quinvalpetlaque: auh in acalotli in, iuhq'n vei tenamjtl ipan mocmatia. 726 487

Auh in Españoles yoan in ixquich tlaxcaltecatl incemtequjuh in vtli, in vei vtli iacacolco, yoan in tlilhoacan in atezcapan. Auh in iacaculco, in cuepopan, in apaloxcan, yoan atliceuhian injc iaticac aiacac, in totecco intequjuh muchiuh in Xuchmjlcatl, in cujtlaoacatl, in mjxquicatl, in culhoacatl in Jtztapalapanecatl, incentequjuh muchiuh in acaltica in tlaiecoaia.

Auh in atliceulca, yoan aiacacalque in acaleque, in tlamjnanj, vel muchicaoa injc quinnamjqui, amo moquequeza, vel monenevilhcavia, iuhquin tzetzelivi in tlatzontectli, iuhquin coatl mochimjna mopipiaça in mjtl: in iquac atlatica quitlaça iuhquin coçpul onmoteca in impan iaume: 726 [411]

auh in cequjntin tiacaoan in Xiuhcoacatzin quequetzi, Tezcacoacatl, Tecpanecatl, Vitzitzin, Itzcuintzin: in iacaculca vel ipan mantivia in calli: amo moquequetzaia, amo quinçiccavaia in Cioatzintli, in pilzintli, aiacan in quimocaltechpachoto in oc ce acalotli itech in amaxac icac.

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[1] A barrio flanking that of [illegible] in Tenochtitlan; an area now bounded N. by Calle de [illegible]; E., [illegible]; S., [illegible] and W., Sta. María la Redonda and the water's edge.—Caso, op. cit. R. H. Barlow ("Los cinco señores," p. 61) locates it "entre las calles de Jaime Nunó y de González Bocanegra."

[2] Cuepopan or Tlaquechiuhcan, an area bounded now, N., by Calle de [illegible]; E., Gabriel Leyva; S., Pedro Moreno (once a canal); and Lerdo.—Caso, op. cit.

[3] To the east of the Plaza de Tlatelolco.—Ibid.

[4] Atliceuhyan and Ayacac were probably in the barrio of [illegible].—Ibid.

[5] Seler, op. cit., p. [illegible], groups the names and titles as given here.

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726 And once it befell that the Spaniards came forth there at Totecco. And when they had reached where the young men's house stood, a place called Ayacac, then they set fire to it.

And another of the Spaniards' boats put in there at Atliceuhyan, and many of the boats of those of Xochimilco entered with it. And the chieftain Temilotzin, the commanding general, placed himself upon a small pyramid and stood looking toward the Spaniards. And the chieftain Coyoueuetzin put on the device of an eagle-ocelot [warrior]—half eagle and half ocelot. In a boat he came from Tolmayecan to fall upon [the Spaniards]. And many war boats[6] came following him. He said: "O chieftains, onward! Let us repulse them!" Thereupon they struck against the ship. And when the Spaniards had seen this, they then turned back, and [the Mexicans] went after them. Then [Coyoueuetzin and the Mexicans] made straight for Atliceuhyan. And the Spaniards' boats then withdrew from the others and went to take position at Amanalco. And many of those of Xochimilco died of the arrows. And after this, when [the Mexicans] had pursued them, once again [the Spaniards] held a position, and then drove the chieftains back. Coyoueuetzin hid himself behind a small pyramid. Then he succeeded in turning them back and forced them there where stood the young men's house at Atliceuhyan. Once more [the Spaniards] pursued Coyoueuetzin and came making him jump into the water. And once again Itzpapalotzin, a young Otomí [warrior], threw them back. He had also assumed a device. Then he took after them; like a ball of mud he rolled them together. In truth, he went to battle with them in a boat.[7] Then they departed. Thus were they undone.

And those of Cuitlauac thought that their ruler Mayeuatzin had indeed died—that he had perished with the others. They were exceeding wroth; they said: "You have slain our ruler. Bring him forth! Why have you slain our ruler?" And Mayeuatzin, when he had learned that his vassals were angry, that they were angry in his behalf, then said to Coyoueuetzin:[8] "O my elder brother, set up one of our elders who can shout loudly—of loud speech and

Auh ceppa muchiuh in vmpa totecco, vmpa calqujque in Españoles: auh in onacico in vncan telpuchcalli icac: itocaiocan aiacac; njman contlemjnque.

Auh in oc centetl in jmacal in Españoles, valcalac in vncan atliceuhian, yoā mjec in jmacal in Xuchimjlca in qujvalhujcaticalac. Auh in tiiacauh in Temjlotzin, tlacatecatl: momuzco in oquetztica, qujmonjtztica in Españoles: auh in tiiacauh Coiovevetzin: in onaquj tlaviztli quauhtlocelutl: cectlapal quauhtli cectlapal ocelutl acaltica in valla tolmaiecampa in qujvallaz: yoan mjec in acalchimalli, in qujtlamatilitivitze: qujvalitotia. Tiacavane ma ie cuel ichoatl ticcentlaça: njmā ie ic macalhujtequj. Auh in oqujttaque in Españoles: njman ic motepuztzique, qujntocaque: nec vallamelaoa in atliceuhiā. Auh in jmacal Españoles: nec qujtzinqujxtia, contecato amanalco. Auh in Xuchimjlca, mjequjntin injc mjoquē mjtl: auh in ie iuhquj in oq'ntocaque, oc ceppa valmomāque, nec qujnvaltoca in tiiacavan: in Coiovevetzin qujmotocti in mumuztli: njmā ic qujcuep vel qujmaxitito in vmpa icac telpuchcalli in atliceuhian: ie no ceppa qujvaltocaque in coiovevetzin atlan conchololtico: ie no cuele contlaz in telpuchotomjtl, Jtzpapalotzin in no onaquj tlaviztli, nec q'ntoca, iuhqujn çoqujtl qujmololoa, vel qujntepeoato aca acalco: njman ic iaque, ic popolivito.

Auh in cujtlaoaca in momatque ca omjc, ca ocehoan mjc, in intlatocauh in Maiehoatzin, cenca qualanj: qujtoaia. Ca oanqujmjctique in totlatocauh Xiqualnextican, tleica in oanqujmjctique totlatocauh. Auh in Maiehoatzin in oqujma in ca qualanj, in jmacehoalhoan: injc qujtlaqualanjlia: njmā qujlhuj in Coiovevetzin. Nachcauhtzine, tla ce xiqualquetza in tachcavan in vel tzatzi, in tlatolchicaoac, in tozcachicaoac: njman ic qujvalnotzque ce tequjoa,

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[6] See Pl. 114, 117, 121.

[7] *Ame acalco*: *ame* is probably a copyist's error. Seler, op. cit., p. 526, reads the phrase *quijntepeoato acalco*.

[8] The MS is apparently corrected here to read as reproduced: *qujlhuj in coiovevetzin*.

strong voice." Then they spoke to a seasoned warrior named Tlamayocatl, and then Mayeuatzin commanded and said to him: "Go forth and tell those of Cuitlauac: 'O men of Cuitlauac! Your ruler Mayeuatzin hath sent me! Behold him! There he standeth upon the small pyramid!'" And when those of Cuitlauac had heard him, they answered him: "Nay, ye have slain him!" Then he said unto them: "Nay, he is not dead! Look well upon him! There he now standeth!" And [Mayeuatzin] spoke forth: "I have not died. Let nothing injure my lip rod, my green stone [jewels], my devices!" And when he ended his speech, then a cry arose [among the Indians who were with Spaniards], whereupon there was fighting. Then they pursued [the Mexicans]. But in the market place, there at Copalnamacoyan, the battle, gradually abating, lasted long.

And once our foes of Tliliuhquitepec and Atetemollan[9] together conferred and took note of a narrow road which led between house clusters. It was the path of a nobleman named Tlacatzin. And when our foes had already entered, then the chieftains drove them forth. And a man, a chieftain and a seasoned warrior named Tlapanecatl, whose home was at Atezcapan, then engaged them. Our foes then quickly seized him. And the [Mexican] chieftains then rushed and went shooting arrows at our foes. Then they made [the enemy] loose the captured chieftain. But our foes then smote him in the calf of the leg, there where the leg is bled. Then [the enemy] departed; the fighting ceased.

itoca: Tlamaiocatl: nec quinnaoatia in Maiehoatzin: 726
quilhuja. Tla xoniauh, tla xiquimonjlhuj in cujtlaoaca: Cujtlavacae, ca anechoaliva in amotlatocauh in Maiehoatzin, xoconjttacan nechca moquetztica momoiaco. Auh in oquicacque cujtlaoaca, quivalitoque. Ca amo, ca oanquimjctique: nec quimonjlhuja. Ca amo mjquj, vel, xocottacan ic in nechca icac: yoan quivalitos, ca amo mjquj, ma itla nechitlacalhuj in notençac, in nochalchiuh, in notlavia: auh in ocontzonquixti in jtlatol, nec tlacaoaca: njman ic ic necalioa, nec quivaltoca. Auh in tianquizco in vmpa [293]
copalnamacoian, aiaxcan in mocauh, vncã vecaoac in iauiotl.

Auh ceppa tecentlatalhujque in toiaovan in Tliliuhquitepeca, atetemoleque: ic quimottilique in vpitzactli in calla quiztica, yiovi catca ce pilli: itoca, Tlacatzin. Auh in ic calaquj in toiaovan: nec quintoca in tiiacaoan. Auh ce tlacatl tiacauh, tequjoa, itoca Tlapanecatl, atezcapã ichan catca: nec quinoalnamjquj, njmã ic quicujtivetzque in toiaovan: auh in tiiacavan, njmã ipan onmotepeoalque, quinmjntivi in toiaovan: njmã ic contetlaçaltito in cacica tiiacauh. Auh in toiaovan nec quivalmetzvitecque: vncã in jmetzcocoian: njman ic iaque, õmocacauhque in mjcali. [491]

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[9] Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible]"

[p. 108 is blank]

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Thirty-eighth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards set up a catapult with which they would by trickery slay the Tlatilulcans.

And then the Spaniards set up a catapult upon a small pyramid, in order to hurl rocks at the common folk. And when they had readied it, when they were about to fire it, much did they come circling it; much did they point with their fingers. They pointed to the common folk; they motioned there where they had assembled at Amaxac.[1] All the common folk noted with concern the Spaniards pointing with their arms, as they were about to hurl and cast it, as if using a sling on them. Then [the Spaniards] wound and twisted [the ropes]. Then the wooden beam of the catapult rose upright. But the stone would not go there upon the common folk; it only went to fall beyond the back of the market place at Xomolco.

And so, there, [the Spaniards] quarreled among themselves; it appeared as if the Spaniards jabbed [one another's] faces with their fingers. Much did they chatter. And the catapult kept teetering and swaying, and little by little stilled itself. Then indeed it could be seen that the sling was on top; very thick was the rope. Because [it was provided with] a rope, [the Mexicans] named it "the wooden sling."

And once more the Spaniards hurled [their strength] against [the Mexicans]. And all the Tlaxcallans thereupon formed themselves in rows at Yacacolco, and Tecpancaltitlan,[2] and Copalnamacoyan. Then, there at Atecocolecan, they headed all those who were besieging us.[3] Very slowly they proceeded, taking position. And the chieftains went taking their places.[4] They gathered courage, and indeed stood up as men [of war]. None swooned nor behaved like women. They said: "Come, O chieftains! Who are these little barbarians — little men of low condi-

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli omei capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn españoles quitlalique quauhtemalacatl, injc quinpoiomjctizquja in tlatilulca.

Auh njman in iehoan Españoles, quitlalique in quauhtemalacatl in momoztitlapac, injc quinmotepachozquj in macevaltin. Auh in oquicencauhque, in ie quitlaçazque, cenca colohujtinemj, cẽca ommapiloa, quinmapilhuja in macevalti, ommapiloa in vmpa omocenquixtiq in amaxac, in ie inquich macevalli, cenca quimaunotztia, ommaçoa in Españoles, injc impan contlaçazque conmaiavizque, in iuhquj quintematlaviaque: nec quimalacachoa nec quitevilacachoa: njmã ic moquetztiquetz in quauhtemalacatl in jquauhio. Auh in tetl amo vel vmpa ia in jpã macevalli, çan ie icampa itepotzco in vetzito tianquiztli xomolco.

Auh ic vncã mjxnamjcque in juh nenque Españoles iuhquin mjxmapilhuiaia, cenca chachalaca. Auh in quauhtemalacatl moteteuhcuepa avic iaiauh, çan jvian motlamelauhcaquetztia: njman ic vel nez in jiacac catca in tematlatl cenca tomavac in mecatl, injc mecaio: njman ic quitocaiotique quauhtematlatl:

auh ie no ceppa quicentlaçque in Españoles: yoã in jxquich tlaxcaltecatl, njmã ie ic motecpana in iiacaculco, yoan tecpancaltitlan yoan copalnamacoia: njmã ie vmpa atecocolecan quinjiacana in jxquich techiaoaiotoc, cencan ivian in onotiuj. Auh in tiiacaoan valmomatiuj, vel mochichicaoa, vel moquichquetza, aiac tlacuecuetlaxoa, aiac tlaciuatlamachtia: quitoa. Xioalnenemjcan tiiacavane, aqujque in tenjotonti, tlalhujcatotonti. Auh in tiiacavan avic vivi, [illegible]hujvi, aocac tlamelauhca icac, motlamelauhcaquetza

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[1] In the barrio of [illegible], "cerca la Concepción," in the version of Bustamante, op. cit., p. [illegible]. Caso, op. cit., identifies it as a [illegible] in the barrio of [illegible], an area bounded now, N., by Calle del Canal del Norte; E., Ave. del Trabajo; S., barrio of [illegible] and a broken line from intersection of Tolteca and [illegible] to approximately the intersection of [illegible] and Jesús Carranza; and W., Jesús Carranza.

[2] A barrio occupying an area bounded now, N., by Calle de la Independencia; E., a line approximately along [illegible], prolonged to Plaza de S. Juan; S., [illegible] and W., [illegible]. — Ibid. The context would suggest, however, another place of the same name in Tlatilulco.

[3] Seler, op. cit., p. [illegible], translates thus: [illegible]

[4] The context does not indicate whether Tlaxcallan or Mexican chieftains are meant; it may be questioned that the latter are referred to. See a parallel passage, supra, Chap. [illegible]

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726 tion?"⁴ And the chieftains kept going from one side to the other, back and forth. None stood upright nor rose straight.

(And often the Spaniards placed themselves among their enemies. They were not to be seen; as the natives were arrayed, so also they bedight themselves. They put on devices and bound on mantles over [their shoulders], in order to disguise themselves. They went hiding themselves among the people and took watchful care. When [the Spaniards] struck someone with an arrow, all crouched; all fell to the ground. There was much watching; there was alertness as to whence came and whither went the iron bolt. Well did the chieftains of Tlatilulco take care and keep good watch.)

And little by little [the Spaniards] penetrated them and laid siege to them. And at Copalnamacoyan, on the road to Amaxac, the [bearers of] shields came close to one another; they met face to face.

And there was a man whose name was Chalchiuhtepeua, who hid himself behind a wall there at Amaxac. And this one was a Mexican from Tlatilulco. And he spied a horse, in order so spear it. And when he had speared the horse, then the Spaniard [riding it] went down back of it. Then his companions quickly came forth to seize him, and then put to flight all the chieftains and lords who were with them. Then they fell in behind them in pursuit. So once again they made them come to a stand at Copalnamacoyan, where stood the wall. Forthwith each rested, and each departed and entered his house.

And once it came to pass that all who were about us, though not the Spaniards, came and assembled there at Teocaltitlan.⁶ It was yet early dawn when they took position. Thereupon they leveled over a lagoon; they filled in the body of water named Tlaixcuipan,⁷ for they went about crowded together. All manner of rocks they bore; all kinds of wood, pillars, door lintels, adobes, worked corner stones, etc. They moved with much chattering, raising the dust. For this reason had they so done, that they thought and imagined that thus they could rob the common folk who were at the edge of the road, who dwelt on the border of the way which led to Tepeyacac.

(auh mjecpa motlacacuepaia in Españoles, amo moneztiaia in juh mochichioa njcan tlaca: no iuh mochichioaia, tlavitztli cõmaquja, tilmatli panj qujmolpiliaia, injc mjxpoloaia, çan moteotocativia, çan jc qujtejmachitia, in onca qujmjnque, nepachoão tlaltech viloa, cenca tlachialo, cenca mjxpepetza in campa ic vallauh, in campa ic valitztiuh in tepuzmjtl, vel mjmati, vel motlachielia in tiiacaoan in Tlatilulca:)

Auh cencan yiolic intech xocotivi, intech calechpachotivi. Auh in copalnamacoian in jpan vtli amaxac cenca netechpachiuhtiuh in chimalli, moquanamjctiuh.

Auh ce tlacatl itoca catca Chalchiuhtepeua, qujmotecti tepantli, vncã in amaxac. Auh in ichoatl in ce mexicatl tlatilulcatl: auh cenca qujmotzilia in cavallo injc qujxilia: auh in oqujxil cavallo: njman ic valmotzineuh in Español: njman ic caantiquijque in icnjvan, njman ic qujntepotztoque, çan much icoltin in tiiacavan, yoan in pipiltin, intech ietiquj nec imjcampa qujntepotztoque, ic ie no ceppa qujnquechtato in copalnamacoian, in vncan tenamjtl onoca: nec ic onceceuh, vivilooac, cacalacoac.

Auh ceppa muchiuh in jxquich in techiaoalotoc: amo no ichoan in españoles: cenquiçato in vmpa Teucaltitlan oc ioan in momanato: njmã ie ic tlaatzupa, catzupa in atezcatl in jtoca Tlaixcujpã iuh qujn moquequeztinemj ixquich tetl qujtquj, ixquich quavitl, tlaquetzalli, tlaixquatl, xamjtl, tenacaztli &c. chachalacatinemj teuhtli qujquetztinemj: in jpampa iuh qujchiuhca, ca iuh qujlnamjquja, iuh qujmopictiaia, injc qujnnamoieçque in macevalti in ootenco toque in otenque in jpan vtli tepeiacac iaticac.

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5. See Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, pp. [illegible], [illegible].

6. Near — or surrounding? — Tlaixcuipan: "probablemente en el barrio de [illegible]." — Garibay, op. cit.

7. A pond (estanque) in or near Teocaltitlan. — Ibid.

And when the chieftains had beheld what now [the foe] did and intended, thereupon they deliberated as to what they would do. And when they had decided, thereupon went a boat, very carefully, which they poled rapidly. It came to a stop at the road's edge. No war device showed; it only came covered over. Another came. Just so, cautiously, they poled it forth rapidly. And once more came two boats, so making four. Then arose two eagle and two ocelot [warriors]. The first eagle [warrior] was Topantemoctzin; the second, Tlacotzin. And the first ocelot [warrior] was Temilotzin; the second, Coyoueuetzin. Thereupon broke forth one ocelot and one eagle [warrior], poling their boats furiously—as if the boats flew. They went cautiously to Tecuhticlan, in order to intercept and cut off the advance [of the foe]. And when they had gone, once again, also, two—another eagle and another ocelot [warrior]—sped forth to hurl themselves into the midst [of the fray]. And when they had already gone, the flutes were blown, and thereupon people were robbed. And some from there approached to cut off the advance of the chieftains.

And when our foes saw this, they would have fled. Many died in the water, sunk and submerged, only piled up one on another, as if no longer conscious, as if stunned, fallen, soaked. Those who in vain tried to flee, only fell between the beams. They were pulled out, it is said, completely smeared with mud, slippery with mud, well soaked and completely drenched. Very many perished; there they died in myriads. And this was the last time that there our foes, the various people [allied to the Spaniards] died in numbers. And when our foes had died, the next day was quite calm.

And then came the Spaniards here to Amaxac. They went to and reached where the common folk had taken refuge.[8] They had completely surrounded us. The battle spread all around, there at Amaxac and on the road which led to Tepeyacac. Then [the Spaniards] went to and entered the young men's house named Uitzcan,[9] for there assembled all the young men. Then they climbed up to the roof terrace. And all the common folk thereupon jumped down behind the young men's house, and then all dispersed into the water. And a great num-

Auh in oquittaque tiacaoan in ie tlein quichioa, 726 quinemjlia: njman ie ic quitlatlalia in quenin vel quichioazque: auh in oiuh quitlatlalique, njman ie ic ce vitz in acalli, cenca yiolic, in quitlanelhujtivitze, contecaco vtenco, amo valneztia in tlaviztli, çan vallapachiuhtia, ie no ce valla, çan ie no ivi in iiolic quivallanelhujtiaque: auh ie no ceppa valla vme in acalli ic onnauhtetia. Njmã ie valmevatiquetza vmentin quauhtli, omentin ocelutl: injc ce quauhtli, itoca in Topãtemoctzin: injc vme, itoca in Tlacotzin. Auh injc ce ocelutl itoca in Temjlotzin: injc vme, itoca in Coioveuetzin: njmã ie ic eoaque: ce ocelutl, ce quauhtli, quijmaquitlanelhuja, iuhquin patlanj acalli, vmpa tlamattiuh in tecuhticlan in q'inacazcuecuenazque, in quiquiltequjzque. Auh in iquac oiaque ie no ceppa no contlaçaque in centetl no ce quauhtli, auh no ce ocelutl quijmotlacomotlazque: auh in iquac ie vi nec tlapitzalo, njman ie ic tenamoialo: auh ceq'intin nipa quijnacaztzacujlico in tiacaoan.

Auh in oquittaque in toiaovan motlalozquja quijc in atlan mjc, in poliuhq in illacque, ça nenca ommotlilinjaia, iuhquin aocmo quimati, ça iuhquin çoçotlaoa, ça iuhquin chachapantivetzi, in oc nen motlalozquej ça quauhcoionac activetzi, tevivilana, cenca tlaçoquipichoque, cenca neçoquijquimeque, vel chachapanque, vel popoliuhque, vel mjec in ipolihuja, oncan vel tenacampoac: auh ça yieppa in vncã ommomacampiqque in toiaovan in nepapan tlaca: auh in iquac omjquique in toiaovan, in imoztlaioc, ça cactimanca:

auh ie valleque in Españoles in vncan amaxac, vel vmpa acito, in vmpa tlatitlaque in macevaltin, vel techiaoalloque, vel moteneuaz in iaoiotl, in vel vncã amaxac yoan ipan vtli in tepeiacac iticac: njman ic calaquito in telpuchcalli: motenehua vitzcan: ichica ca vncan monechicoaia in ixquich telpuchtli: njman ie ic tlecoque in tlapanco. Auh in ixquich macevalli: njman ie ic onmaiavitivetzque in icampa Telpuchcalli, nec atlan onmotepeoato. Auh ce vel tlacauh quechic iuca, Vitzilhuatzin tlapanco moquetz, icpac in telpuchcalli, ce iuhquin tenamjqui moiehuiyoh, ce ic achi con- [561/394]

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[8] Corresponding Spanish text: "donde esta la yglesia de la concepcion."

[9] Ibid.: "[illegible] a donde estaua el [illegible] de los mancebos."

726 soned warrior, a shorn one, named Uitzilhuatzin, placed himself above, on the roof terrace of the young men's house. Like a wall he now became.[10] Meanwhile, the common folk followed him a little. But the Spaniards then fell upon them and bore down on them, and thereupon beat, hacked, and pierced him. Then once more the chieftains set upon [the Spaniards], and they then quickly bound the chieftain [Uitzilhuatzin]. Then they went to lay hands on him, but he did not, nevertheless, die. Then they went, and all was quiet.

And [the temple with] images of the devils [the Spaniards] then set fire to. They burned it.[11]

And the chieftains to no purpose came to hold their position. Yet [the Spaniards] shot no arrows at the women, but only at those who came out as men [of war]. And when all ceased, there was only a little sun.

And on the fourth day likewise it came to pass that our foes marched forth together. Wheresoever there were common folk, there the Spaniards moved cautiously. Very softly they kept going. And the chieftain and commanding general Temilotzin in vain opposed them. He took refuge behind a wall. [411] As an eagle [warrior] he stepped forth; he had his iron sword with him, with which he would cut them down. But when he saw that nowhere could he do anything, then he cast himself into, and made his way in, the water. There were great war cries. Then once again the battle engulfed them. Only there did they reach. In truth, all day did the battle last.

And when it had dawned, when already it was the fifth day, once again our [Indian] foes and the Spaniards made an assault. And all who surrounded us, in truth, marched together. They were around us, hemming us in. Nowhere could any go nor proceed. All were indeed compressed. All were verily crushed and trampled. And when they had come close among us, a woman poured water upon them; she drenched their faces; she dashed water into the faces of our foes.[12]

[693] And the ruler Quauhtemoc, and the chieftains Coyoueuetzin, Temilotzin, Topantemoctzin, Auelitoctzin the chief justice, Tlacotzin, and Petlauhtzin

tecac in macevalli. Auh in Españoles: njmã ic impã contlatepeuhque, impan contzitzquique: njman ic ic quijvivitequj, quiquiztlapana, quijxoxotla: njman ic ie no ceppa quinvallatoque in tlacateca: auh njman ic quijcanacatlapanque in tlacatl. njman ic contlaza, amo tel vel mjc, njmã ic inque, cactimoman.

Auh in diablome imjxiptlevan: vncan contlecavique, contlatlatique.

Auh in tlacavan, oc nen valmoquetzivi in amo ma quimomjna in civa: çan ichoantin in oquichioantiviaa: auh in necacaaloc ça achiton tonatiuh.

Auh injc navilhujtl çan ie no ivi in mochiuh comolinque in toiaovan: in vmpa onoc macevalli vmpa tlamattivi in Españoles, cencan ivian in iativi. Auh in tlacatl tlacatecatl in temjlotzin, oc nen quinmopachiviaia, tepantli quimotecti. Quauhtli ipan quijtticac, itepozmaquauh ieticac, injc quinçotzonazquja: auh in oquijttac in aoccampa velij, njmã ic atlan valmomaiauh, atotlatiuh, cenca tlacavaca: vncan ie no ceppa motetecuanã in iaiotl, çan vncan acito: vel cemjlhujtl in manca iaiotl.

Auh in otlatvic, in ie ic macujlilhujtl: ie no ceppa vel quiçetlaa in toiaouh in Españoles: yoan in ixquich in techiacalotoc, vel cemolin, vel techiavaloque, techololhujque, aocac campa vel huja vel aocmo neçanocolo, vel nepapatzmolo, vel mjequjxtin pepetzmjque, nequequeçaloc. Auh in cenca ie in techonaci, oc civatl quijvallatequja, quijmjxatequja, quijmjxapapatza in toiaovan.

Auh in tlatoanj in Quauhtemoctzin yoan in tlacavan in Coioueuetzi in Temjlotzin, Topantemoctzin, Auelitoctzin, Mixcoatlailotlactzin, Tlacotzin, Pethen seized upon a great chieftain named Tlapaltecatl opochtzin, whose home was Coatlan. Thereupon they arrayed him, and put on him the quetzal feather owl[13] which had been the device of Auitzotzin. Quauhtemoc said: "This device was the device of my forbear, of my father Auitzotzin.[14] Let him wear it. Let him die in it. May he gain honor before the people. May he become a portent in it. May our foes see and marvel at him."[15] And when they put it on him, he was indeed terrifying. Truly wonderful he appeared. And [Quauhtemoctzin] commanded four to aid him and be at his side. They gave him the darts[16] [and dart thrower] which were the devil's — the throwing spears with flint points.

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[10] *Ibid.*: "un capitan que se llamaua Vitzilhuatzin con muchos soldados que [illegible] sobre los [illegible] a [illegible] a los españoles [illegible]"

[11] *Ibid.*: "y otro dia los españoles pegaron luego [illegible]" See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 169 [illegible].

[12] Corresponding Spanish text: "las mugeres tambien peleauan [illegible] a los enemigos con el agua de las acequias [illegible] con las manos."

And when they had done this, it became like a portent for the lords of the Mexicans. The ruler's vicar Tlacotzin said: "O Mexicans! O Tlatilulcans! Hath Mexico been nothing — that on which Mexican rule was founded? It is said to be with the power of Uitzilopochtli, which he hurled at one. It is none other than the fire serpent, the fire drill, with which he walked, casting it at our foes — which you, O Mexicans, have held as his power of the dart. Forthwith you will aim it against our foes. You will cast it not to the earth; you will hurl it with strength at [the foe]. And if one or two will be struck — if one or two of our enemies will be reached, — it is in truth a token for us [that] yet, for a little, we shall look to favor; [that] yet our lord [the god] may desire it." Thereupon went the quetzal-owl [bedight warrior], with quetzal feathers as if parted.

And when our foes saw him, [it was] as if a mountain had burst. In truth, all the Spaniards took fright; much did he terrify them, as if they had seen in him something [inhuman]. Then the quetzal-owl [warrior] climbed up to the roof terrace. And some of our foes, who could see him, stood up. Then they forced him to turn back, and took after

tlaiacatin. Niman ic connaquj ce vei tiacauh, itoca Tlapaltecatl opuchtzin coatlan ichã njman ic ic quichichiua, conaquique, in quetzaltecolotl: itlaviz catca in Avitzotzin: quijto in Quauhtemoctzin. Inin tlaviztli, itlaviz catca in notechiiuhcauh in notatzin Avitzotzin, ma ichoatl conjtquj ma ipan onmjquj ma cemmavizoti ma ipan tetlachiti ma quittacan in toiaovan ma quimaviçocan. Auh in oconaquique vel temamauhti, vel mavizotic in neci: auh navintin in quimavatique in quivicalevinaque, in quivalhuitilitinaque; quivalmacaque in jmjuh catca tlacatecolotl, tlacomjtl, itecpaio. 726 [693] [293]

Auh inic iuh quichiuhque in, iuhquinma intlapoal neuchiuh in tlatoque in Mexica: quijto in Civacoatl tlacotzin. Mexicae, tlatilulcae, atlei inic mexico ocatca, inic onmanca mexicaiotl: in mjtoa in vncan inneuetl in vitzilobuchtli in tepã quiiaiaca ca çan ie in xiuhcoatl, in mamalhoaztli in ocpã quiyiatinenca in toiaovan in ic anconcuj Mexicae in imotl in mjtl: çan njmã vmpa anqujtlachichiuhque in ivicpa toiaovan, amo çan tlalpan anqujmaiavinque cenca ixtech in anqujtlaçazque: auh intla ce, anoço vme momjquiz: auh in amo ce, anoço vme in maçiz toiaouh ca nel ictlapoal, oc achitzin tlacnoittaliztinqueque, oc quemja qujmonequjltiz in totecuio: njman ic ic iciuh in quetzaltecolotl, in quetzalli iuhquja neicoltiaiuh.

Auh in oqujttaque in toiaovan, iuhquin tepetl vitomj vel mochintin momauhtique in Españoles, cenca quimauhti, iuhquinma itla ipan qujttaque: njman ic tlapanco tlecoc in quetzaltecolotl. Auh in cequjntin toiaovan in ovel qujttaque moquetzque: njmanic quivalcuepque, quivalincaque: ic no ceppa no quincuep quintocac in quetzaltecolotl, njman

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[13] Bustamante, op. cit., p. 551: "un tecolo (hecho de plumas ricas y esponjadito)."

[14] While Book XII was in press Dr. Anderson wrote the following comment from Florence, Italy: "The word is almost illegible in the Ms. Examination of the original (Med.-Palat. 218-220, Laurentian Library, Florence), in connection with researches in Europe made possible by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, suggests that [illegible] (any archer or bowman) is meant." [122]

[15] Corresponding Spanish text: "Estando ya en [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Quauhtemoctzin, y dixo a los principales que con el estaban . . . [illegible] Tlapaltecatl opuchtzin [illegible]."

[16] The Aztec text may read [illegible]. [illegible] is probably meant.

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726 him. Another time the quetzal-owl [warrior] turned them back and pursued them. Thereupon he took from them the quetzal feathers and the gold [looted by the foe],[17] and then he jumped down from the roof terrace. He did not die, nor did our foes carry him off. Now also, three of our foes had been taken. At last the battle came to an end; with this, stillness spread, and no more was done. Then our foes departed. All was quiet, and nothing more took place. Thus night fell.

And upon the morrow, likewise no more happened. None spoke aloud. The common folk only settled back. And the Spaniards did nothing more. They only remained still; they remained looking at the common folk. Nothing more occurred; they remained quiet, in place.

701 And here are named all the chieftains, the great men who were wise in the ways of war, who disposed [men] for battle, who assumed the burden of war: the general Coyoueuetzin, and the Tzilacatecatl Temilotzin. These were Tlatilulcans. And those of Tenochtitlan [were] the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin and the captain of the armies Motelchiuhtzin. These are they who were the great chieftains of Tlatilulco and Tenochtitlan.

ic ic qujquanaia in quetzalli, yoan in teocujtlatl: auh njman ic vmpa valhuetz in tlapanco, amo mjc, amo qujvicaque in toiaovan: ic no ieintin in exinteque in toiaovã ça icen ontzonque in iauiotl ic catimamman, aoc tle muchiuh: njman ic iaque in toiaovan, çactimoman, aoc tle muchiuh injc oniovac.

Auh in jmoztlaioc, çan njmã aoc tle muchiuh, aocac navati, ça pechiuhtoc in macevalli. Auh in iehoantin Españoles aoc no tle ay, ça onoque, quijmonjcatoque in macevaltin aoc tle mantoc, cencã ça onoq̃.

Auh njcan motenehoa in jxq'ntin tiiacavan, in vevei oquichtin, in vel imjxco catca iauiotl, in iautecaia in jpan icaca iauiotl. Tlacuchcalcatl, Coiovevetzin, Tzilacatecatl Temjlotzin: in iehoantin in ca tlatilulca. Auh in tenuchca, iehoantin in. Cioacoatl tlacotzin, vitznaoatl Motelchiuhtzin: oca iehoãtin in, in vevei tiiacavan catca in tlatilulco, yoan injc tenochtitlan.

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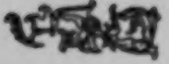
[17] This is explained in the Spanish text: "[illegible]"



Thirty-ninth Chapter, in which is told how, when the [Spaniards] had forced them to the wall, there appeared to the Mexicans what showed itself to be [a ball of] jasper[1] which seemed to issue from the heavens and came to view like a large coal of fire.

And when night had fallen, then it rained and sprinkled at intervals. Late at night the flame became visible; just so was it seen, just so it emerged as if it came from the heavens. Like a whirlwind[2] it went spinning around and revolving; it was as if embers burst out of it — some very large, some very small, some like sparks. Like a coppery wind it arose, crackling, snapping, and exploding loudly. Then it circled the dike and traveled toward Coyonacazco;[3] then it went into the middle of the lake there to be lost.

None shouted; none spoke aloud.

And on the next day, nothing more happened. All remained [quiet], and also our foes [so] remained.

But the Captain [Cortés] was watching from a roof-top at Amaxac — from the roof-top of [the house of] Aztautzin — under a canopy. It was a many-colored canopy. He was looking toward the common folk; the Spaniards stood crowded about him and took counsel among themselves.

And [on our side] were Quauhtemoc and the other noblemen[4] — the ruler's vicar[5] Tlacotzin, the lords' judge[6] Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies[7] Motelchiuhtzin, the constable[8] of Mexico, and the lord priest;[9] and also the rulers of Tlatilulco — the

Injc compoalli on caxtolli onnavi capitulo: 726 vncã mjtoa in quenjn ichoantin Mexica in jquac ovel 787 qujncaltechpachoto in nez in mottac Esteli: iuhq'nma ilhujcacpa valla. Auh injc valnezia iuhqujn vei tlexochtli.

Auh in oiovac: njman ie ic qujqujiavi, avachqujqujiavi, ie tlaquauhiova in nez tletl: in juh mottac, in juh nez, iuhqujn ilhujcacpa valla, iuhqujn ecamalacotl, momamalacachotiuh, moteuilacachotiuh, iuhqujn cuecuepocatiuh tlexochtli, cequj vevei, cequj çan tepitoton, cequj ça iuhqujn tlemoiotl, iuhqujn coatepuztli, moquetza, cecea icoioca, tetecujca, titicujca, çan qujiavalo in atenamjtl: coionacazco in valitztia: njmã ic ia in anepantla, vmpa popolivito,

aiac motenvitec, aiac navat:

auh in jmuztlaioc, aoc no tle muchiuh, ça onoac, ça no onoque in toiaovan.

Auh in capitan tlapanco vallachixtica in amaxac, 000 Aztautzin itlapanco, cevalcaltzo, tlatlapalli in cevalcalli, qujmonjtztica in macevaltin, coleltiuhtoque in Españoles, mononotztoque.

Auh in Quauhtemoctzin; yoan in oc cequjntin 701 tlatoque. Civacoatl tlacotzin. Tlillancalquj. vitzna- 565 oatl. Petlauhtzin. Motelchiuhtzin mexicatl. Achcauhtli, Tecutlamacazcatzin. Niman in ichoantin in tlatilulco tlatoque. Tlacochcalcatl. Coiovevetzin. tla-

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[1] Seler, op. cit., p. [illegible], [illegible] (*[illegible]*) as *[illegible]*. See, however, Sahagún, op. cit.

[2] Seler, loc. cit., has ein Windwirbel (?).

[3] See Chapter 34, n. 2.

[4] We have rearranged the first few of the entries as Seler does in op. cit., p. [illegible], for the sake of more logical reading.

[5] Cioacoatl. Cf. Clark, op. cit., III, fol. 3; also Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, 1723), II, p. [illegible]; Chimalpahin, op. cit., p. [illegible].

[6] Tlillancalqui. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. [illegible]. See [illegible], Torquemada, op. cit., p. [illegible], has [illegible] mayor.

[7] Uitznauatl. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. [illegible].

[8] Achcauhtli. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., III — *The Origin of the Gods*, p. [illegible].

[9] Tecutlamacazqui. Cf. Clark, op. cit., II, p. 117.

701 565 general[10] Coyoueuetzin; the commanding general Temilotzin; the army commander[11] Topantemoctzin; the chief justice[12] Auelitoctzin; the captain of the armies[13] Uitzilihuitzin; the Tlacopan ruler Uitzitzin. All of these rulers were assembled at Tolmayecan; they appeared to consult among themselves how this should be done: what we should offer as tribute, and how we should yield to [the Spaniards].

728 Thereafter only two [men] took Quauhtemoc in a boat. The two who took him and went with him were the seasoned warrior Tepotzitoloc, and Yaztachimal, Quauhtemoc's page. And the one who poled [the boat] was named Cenyaotl.

And when they carried Quauhtemoc off, then there was weeping among all the common folk. They said: "Now goeth the young lord Quauhtemoc; now he goeth to deliver himself to the gods, the Spaniards!"

cateccatl. Temjlotzin. Tlacatecatl. Topantemoctzin. Mixcoatlailotlactzin. Auelitoctzin, vitznaoatl. vitzilivitzin. tepanecatl vitzitzin: in muchintin in tlatoque, in ocontlalitiicaca tolmaiecan mononotzaca in quenjn muchioaz in tlein ticteqqujtizque: auh in quenjn intlan tocalaqujzque.

Niman ie ic qujvica in Quauhtemoctzin, acaltica, çan omemoe: vmētin in convicaque, itlan ietiaque. Tepotzitoloc tequjoa, yoan Jaztachimal ixolouh in Quauhtemoctzin. Auh ce qujtlanelhujtia itoca Cenjaotl:

auh in jquac ie qujvica in Quauhtemoctzin: njmā ie ic mochoqujlia in ixqujch macevalli qujtoque. Je iauh in tlacatl xocoiotl in Quauhtemoctzin ie iauh qujnmomacaz in teteu in Españoles.

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[10] *Tlacochcalcatl.* Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *loc. cit.*

[11] *Tlacateccatl.* Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, I, fol. 67. The suffix is omitted in the *Florentine Codex.*

[12] *Mixcoatlailotlacatl.* Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. [illegible].

[13] *Tepanecatl.* Cf. Chimalpahin, *op. cit.*, p. [illegible]. Cervantes de Salazar, *op. cit.*, III, p. [illegible], mentions capture at the same time as Quauhtemoc of the ruler of Tacuba (Tlacopan); so does Ixtlilxochitl, *op. cit.*, p. [illegible].

Fortieth Chapter. Here is told how the men of Tlatilulco and Tenochtitlan and their leaders yielded to the Spaniards,[1] and what befell when they were among them.

And when they had betaken themselves to bring him and disembark him, thereupon all the Spaniards came to see. They drew him along; the Spaniards took him by the hand. After that they took him up to the roof-top, where they went to stand him before the Captain, the war leader. And when they had proceeded to stand him before [Cortés], they looked at Quauhtemoc, made much of him, and stroked his hair. Then they seated him with [Cortés] and fired the guns. They hit no one with them, but only made them go off above, [so that] they passed over the heads of the common folk.[2] Then [some Mexicans] took and got into a boat and guided it there to the house of Coyoueuetzin.[3] And when they arrived, then they climbed up to the roof-top, whereupon once again they slew men and many died there. But [the Mexicans] only fled. With this the war reached its end.

Then there was shouting; they said: "Enough! Let it end! Eat greens!" When they heard this, the common folk thereupon issued forth. On this, they went, even into the lagoon.

And as they departed, leaving by the great road, once more they there slew some,[4] wherefore the Spaniards were wroth that still some again had taken up their obsidian-bladed swords and their shields. Those who dwelt in house clusters went straightway to Amaxac; they went direct to where the ways divide. There the common folk separated. So many[5] went toward Tepeyacac, so many toward Xoxouiltitlan, so many toward Nonoalco. But toward Xolloco and toward Maçatzintamalco no one went.

Inic ompoalli capitulo vnca mjtoa in quenjn iehoantin tlatilulca yoã tenuchca yoan in intlatocauh in intlan oncalacque Espanoles: auh in tlein mochiuh in jquac ic intlã catca./. 728

Auh in oconnazitito in ocontlalhoacaquiztito: njman ie ic mochi vallachia in Españoles, quivalanque, imatitech quivalanque in Españoles njman ie ic quitlecavia in tlapanco ixpan conquetzato in Capitan in iautachcauh. Auh in oixpan conquetzato, njmã ie ic quitta, quimocnitititia, quipepepetla in Quauhtemoctzin: njman ic itlan quitlalique yoan contlazque in tlequiquiztli, aiac ic quimotlaque, çan impan quiquiztique çan jnjcpac quiz in macevalti: njman ic cẽtel convicaque, conmalaquique in acalli: vmpa cõvicaque in jchan Coiovevetzin. Auh in oacique: njmã ic tlecoque in tlapanco: njman ie ic no ceppa temjctia mjec in vncan mjc: auh çã choloque, çan jc vmpoliuito in iauiotl:

nec valtzatzioa: qujtoa. Ic ixquich ma qujçaa, 727 xicmoqualtitin in qujltzintli: in oiuh qujcacque in njman ie ic oneoa in macevalli: njman ie ic vi, çan atlan.

Auh in oquiçato vei vtli ipan, ic no ceppa cequjn vmpa qujnmjctia, ic qualãque in Españoles in oc no çan cequjntin qujtquj in immaquauh yoan inchimal: in calla onoca qujvalmelauhque in amaxac vallamelaoa, in vncan vei vmaxac: vncan xexeliuh in macevalli, inquich tepeiacac itztia, inquich xoxovilitlã itztia, inquich nonoalco itztia. Auh in xollocopa, yoan in maçatziintamalcopa, aiac vmpa itztia.

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[1] *Espanoles:* the tilde is omitted in the MS.

[2] Probably an artillery salvo, without projectiles; we know that Cortés used this system to impress the Indians. Perhaps this time it was in joy over the end of the war (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

[3] Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 565, implies that they brought a canoe ([illegible]). What appears to be the corresponding Spanish text reads: *"quando esto acontecio salieron dos canoas de [illegible] y entraron en la casa de un principal que se llamaua Coiouevetzin."*

[4] Corresponding Spanish text: *"donde quiera q topauã a algunos indios de los amigos de los españoles matauanlos."*

[5] *So many:* literally, all. Cf., however, Molina, *op. cit.*

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727 481 And all who lived in boats and [in houses] on poles, and those at Tolmayecan,[6] went into the water. On some, the water reached to the stomach; some, to the chest; and on some it reached to the neck. And some were all submerged, there in the deeps. Little children were carried on the backs [of their elders]; cries of weeping arose. Some went on happy and rejoicing as they traveled crowding on the road. And those who owned boats, all the boatmen, left by night, and even [continued to] leave all day. It was as if they pushed and crowded one another as they set out.

727 And everywhere the Spaniards were seizing and robbing the people. They sought gold; as nothing did they value the green stone, quetzal feathers, and turquoise. [The gold] was everywhere in the bosoms or in the skirts of the wretched women. And as for the men, it was everywhere in their breech clouts and in their mouths.

And [the Spaniards] seized and set apart the pretty women — those of light bodies, the fair[-skinned] ones.[7] And some women, when they were [to be] assaulted, covered their faces with mud and put on old, mended skirts and rags for their shifts. They put all rags on themselves.

And also some men were singled out — those who were strong, grown to manhood, and next the young boys, of whom they would make messengers, who would be their servants, and who were known as their runners. And on some they burned [brand marks] on their cheeks; on some they put paint on their cheeks; on some they put paint on their lips.

And when the shield was laid down, when we gave way, it was the year count Three House and the day count was One Serpent.

728 And when Quauhtemoc went to deliver himself, up, they then took him, after nightfall, to Acáchinanco. And on the morrow, when already a little sun shone, once more the Spaniards, a good many of them, came forth likewise to put an end [to the fray] — girt for war, [in] iron corselets and iron helmets, but not with their iron swords nor their shields. They all only pressed white linen cloths against their noses as they passed by; [for] the dead sickened them; they already smelled foul and stank.

Auh in jxqujch acaltica onoca yoan in tlapechco catca, yoan in tolmaiecan çan atlan in ieque: in aca ixillan acitiuh in atl, in aca ielchiqujpan, in aca iquechtlan acitiuh: auh in aca vel polaquj, in vncan vecatlan: in pipiltzitzinti temamamalo, tlachoqujztleoa: cequjnti mopapaqujltitivi, maavieltitivi: in oconnepanoto vtli Auh in acaleque, in jxqujch acale ça ioaltica in qujz, yoã tel cemjlhujtl in qujzque iuhqujn moquequeztivi injc vi.

Auh in jxqujcan antica tetlatlaçaltiaia in Españoles in teucujtlatl qujtemoa amo tle ipan qujtta, in chalchivitl, in quetzalli yoan in xivitl: novian nemja in inxilla in incuetitlan, in cioatzitzinti. Auh in toqujchtin novian nemj in imaxtlatitlan, yoan in incamac

yoan qujmanaia, qujnpepenaia in Cioa in chipavaque, in Cuztic innacaio in cuztique. Auh in cequjntin cioa injc motetlaçaltiaia, mjçoqujvique, yoan tatapatli in qujmocuetiq̃ tzotzomatli in qujmovipiltique, çan moch tzotzomatli in intech qujtlalique.

Auh no cequjntin pepenaloque in toqujchtin ieihoantin in chicaoaque in iniolloco oqujchtin yoã in qujn telpupuchtotonti in qujntitlanjzque, in intitlanvan iezque, in moteneoa intlamacazcaoan: cequjntin njmã qujncamatlatiq̃ cequjntin qujncamaicujloque: cequjntin qujntenjcujloque.

Auh in omomã chimalli: injc tixitinque, in xiuhtonalli ei calli. Auh in cemjlhujtlapoalli ce coatl:

Auh in jquac in õmotemacato in Quauhtemoctzin: njmã qujvicaque in acachinanco in ie ioa. Auh in jmuztlaioc in ie achiton tonatiuh, ie no ceppa vallaque in Españoles: vel mjequjntin, no çan iuh tlantivitze, in moiauchichiuhtivitze, tepuzvipilli, in tepuzquacalalatli: auh aoc tle in intepuzmaquauh, yoan aoc tle in inchimal, ça muchintin valmoiacapachotiaque iztac canaoac ica qujntlaieltiaia in mjmjcque in ie iyaia, in ie potonj:

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[6] Caso, op. cit., mentions Tolmayecan (Tolmayecan?) as probably the same as Apan.

[7] Literally, of yellow bodies, the yellow ones.

All went forth afoot holding, by their capes, Quauhtemoc, Coanacotzin, and Tetlepanquetzatzin[8] —grouping only these three. [And also appeared] the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin, the lords' judge Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies Motelchiuhtzin, the constable of Mexico, the lord priest Coatzin, the keeper Tlaçolyaotl—the men who guarded all the gold.

Then they went straightway to Atactzinco,[9] to the house of the chieftain and commanding general Coyoueuetzin. The Spaniards came in files; they stretched out in two rows, which went to their ends at a distance and extended far. And when they had reached the house of Coyoueuetzin, then they climbed up to the roof-top, on to a platform. Then they sat down. With a many-colored cloth they made a canopy for the Captain. Then the Marquis sat there, and with him stood Marina.

And Quauhtemoc was by the Captain. He had bound on the cape of quetzal feathers, each half of different color, with humming bird feathers, after the manner of those of Ocuillan. It looked soiled. He had only this. Then, after him, came Coanacotzin, ruler of Texcoco, who had bound on only a maguey fiber cape bordered with flowers and with a design of radiating flowers. It also seemed dirty. Then after him came Tetlepanquetzatzin, ruler of Tlacopan. He likewise was covered by a cape of maguey fiber, also very dirty—much soiled. Then, next, came the chief justice Auelitoctzin, and last walked Yopicatl Popocatzin, a prince. On the other side were the men of Tenochtitlan—Tlacotzin, Petlauhtzin, Motelchiuhtzin, the constable of Mexico, the lord priest Coatzin, and the keeper Tlaçolyaotl.[10]

mochintin vallacxipanvitique, qujvalqujtzqujtiujque itilmatitech in Quauhtemoctzin, Coanacotzin, Tetlepanquetzatzin, çan ieintin valmotecaque. Auh in Cioacoatl tlacotzin: Tlillancalqui. petlauhtzin, vitznaoatl, motelchiuhtzin mexicatl. Achcauhtli, Tecutlamacazqui, Coatzin, tlatlati, tlaçoliautl, in iehoantin in quipiaia in ixquich teocujtlatl: 728

njman vmpa tlamelaoque in atactzinco, in vncan ichan in tiiacauh in tlacochcalcatl, in Coiovevetzin: pipilivi in Españoles, ie vmmecatl motilinja, veca tlantivi, veca acitivi: auh in oacito in jchã coiovevetzin, njmã ic tlecoque in tlapanco, in tlapechco: njman ic motlalique, tlatlapalquachtli in quijcevalcaltique capitan, njmã ic oncã onmotlali in Marques, itlan onmotlali in Malintzin:

auh in Quauhtemoctzin itlan ca in Capitan: in qujmolpilia quetzalichpetztli, tlatlacuhujectli, vitzitzilin hivio injc ocujltecaio, omach catzaoac, çan qujacavitica: njmã contoqujlitica in Coanacotzin, tetzcuco tlatoanj: in qujmolpilitica, çan vel ichtilmatli, xoxochiteio, xochimoioioc, omach no catzaoac: njmã cõtoqujlitica. Tetlepanquetzatzi, tlacuban tlatoanj, çã no iuhquj in qujmolpilitica in ichtilmatli, ono vel catzactic, oovel catzaoac: njmã contoqujlitica. Mixcoatlailotlac, avelitoctzin: tlatzacutica Iopicatl, pupucatzin, pilli: cectlapal onoque in tenochca. Tlacotzin. Petlauhtzin. Motelchiuhtzin mexicatl, achcauhtli, tecutlamacazquj, coatzintlatlati, Tlaculiautl. [292] [292]

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[8] Rulers of Tlacopan and of the Tepaneca, respectively, according to Bustamante, op. cit., p. 232.

[9] "Donde ahora está edificada la iglesia de Santa Lucía, aquí en el Tlatilulco"—loc. cit.

[10] Tlaculiautl: the cedilla is omitted in the MS. In this passage, coatzintlatlati appears to be run together in the MS. Cf., however, Molina, op. cit., and Siméon, op. cit. (tlatlati).

[p. 120 is blank]

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728 Forty-first Chapter, in which are told the words with which Don Hernando Cortés addressed the rulers of all the cities, here in Mexico, in Texcoco, and in Tlacopan, when the shields had been stilled, and [how] he questioned them as to the gold which [the Spaniards] had in haste scattered there at the Tolteca canal, when they escaped and fled from Mexico.

Thereupon the Marquis, the Captain, addressed the rulers. He said to them: "What of the gold which was stored in Mexico?" On this, all the gold was taken from the boats — the golden banners, the golden conical caps, the golden arm bands, the golden bands for the calf of the leg, the golden hoods, the golden discs. All [these] they had laid out before the Captain, [and] indeed all of it the Spaniards had taken up.

Then, the Captain said: "Is this all the gold which was stored in Mexico? Have you brought all of it forth?" For our lords sought it diligently.

Then Tlacotzin spoke: "May our lord, the god, hear! That which was brought to our palace we walled up, all of it, with adobes. Did not, in truth, our lords take it all with them?"

Then Marina said to him: "The Captain saith, 'It is so. We took all of it. All was gathered together, and all was marked. And they caused us to cast away all of it there at the Tolteca canal, there where they all set upon us. They must bring forth all!'"

Thereupon the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin answered: "May the god, the Captain, hear! The men of Tenochtitlan rise not [to battle] in boats; it is not their wont. Only the men of Tlatilulco have made it their way of doing. In boats they gave battle and set forth to stem the advance of our lords. Did not in truth those of Tlatilulco take it all?"

After this Quauhtemoc spoke and said to the ruler's vicar: "What dost thou say, O ruler's vicar? Even if the men of Tlatilulco took it, were not the guilty imprisoned therefore? Did they not produce all of it? Was it not gathered together at Texopan? And what took our lords with them [if] not this?" Quauhtemoc pointed to the gold with his finger.

Injc castolli oce capitulo vncan mjtoa in tlatolli injc qujnnonotz do hernando Cortes in jxqujchtin altepetl ipã tlatoque in njcan Mexico: auh tetzcoco, tlacuba, in jquac ie omomanaia chimalli, in qujntemolia in coztic teucujtlatl, in vncan qujmmaaiauhtiquizque toltecaacaloco, in jquac qujzque, choloque mexico.

Niman ie ic qujnnonotza in Marques in Capitan in tlatoque: qujmjlhuja. Catli in teucujtlatl? in omopiaia Mexico: njman ie ic vallaqujxtilo in acalco in jxqujch in teucujtlatl, in teucujtlapanjtl, in teucujtlacopilli, in teucujtlamatemecatl, in teucujtlacotzeuatl, in teucujtlaquecalalatl, in teucujtlacomalli: muchi ixpan contecaque in capitan, çã much ichoan in Españoles in vallequjxtique:

njman ie ic qujtoa in Capitan, çan ie ixqujch in in teucujtlatl? in omopiaia Mexico, muchi anqujqujxtitinque? ca vel qujtemoa in totecujovan:

Niman ie ic ontlatoa in Tlacotzin. Tla qujmocaqujti in totecujo in teutl, ca oipan mexitico in totecpan, ca much ticmamantzaque, amo nel much qujmotqujlique in totecujovan?

njman qujvalito in Malintzin, qujmjtalhuja in Capitan, Quemaca ca much ticcujque, muchi omocencentali, yoan muchi omomachioti: auh ca much techtlaçaltique in vncan toltecaacaloco, much oncan techtepevaltiqué, much qujnextiznque:

njmã ie ic tlananqujlia in Cioacoatl tlacotzin, tla qujmocaqujti in teutl in Capitã. Ca vel acalco moquetza in tenochcatl, ca amo ichivil, ca çan icicuevil qujchiuh in tlatilulcatl, in acaltica tlaieoque, in qujnixtzacuijlito in totecujovã amo nel ichoantin muchi qujcujque in tlatilulca:

njmã ie ic valtetoa in Quauhtemoctzin: qujvallilhuj in Cioacoatl, tlein tiqujtoa Cioacoatle: mago qujcujq in tlatilulca, amo ic çaçacoque in tlamacuilque? amo muchi qujnextique? amo tecpan in necalhico? auh tlein oconmocujlique in totecujovan amo ichoatl in? commapilhuj in teucujtlatl in Quauhtemoctzin:

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728 Then Marina spoke to him: "The Captain saith, 'Is this all?'"

Then the ruler's vicar spoke: "Perchance some commoner took it. But it will be sought; our lord the Captain will behold it."

Then once again Marina spoke: "The Captain saith, 'Ye will find all two hundred [pieces] of gold.'" She measured off [the size] with her hands; her hands described a circle.[1]

Again the ruler's vicar answered; he said: "Doubtless some poor woman put it in her skirt. It shall be sought out. He shall behold it."

Upon this the chief justice Auelitoctzin spoke; he said: "May the lord, our lord Captain, hear! When Moctezuma yet was [alive], when somewhere there was to be a conquest, the men of Mexico and of Tlatilulco, the Tepaneca and the Acolhua, moved together. All the Tepaneca, all the Acolhua, and all the dwellers in the swamp lands—we set out together when we conquered. And when the city fell, thereupon all turned back. Each man returned to [his] city. And thereafter came the masters of the city, the conquered ones. They brought their tribute, which had become the goods of [the victors]: green stone, gold, quetzal feathers, and the other precious stones—fine turquoise; and blue cotinga feathers, and red spoonbill feathers. They offered this to Moctezuma. All together it reached there. All together, there to Tenochtitlan, came all the tribute, all the gold."

njmã qujvalilhuj in Malintzin qujmjtalhuja in capitan. Çan ie izqujch in?

njman ic conjto in cioacoatl, aço aca qujqujxti in Macevalli, atel motlatemolis, a qujmottilis in tetecujo in capitan:

njmã ie no ceppa qujvalito in Malintzin, qujmjtalhuja in Capitan Matlacpoalli anqujnextiazque in teucujtlatl izqujch in: qujvaltamachiuh imatica, qujvaliavallali in jma:

ie no ceppa ontlananqujli in civacoatl: qujto. Aço ça aca ipan mocueti in civatzintli, a motemoliz, a qujmottiliz:

njman ie ic ontlatoa in Mixcoatlailotlac, avelitoctzin: qujto. tla qujmocaqujti in tlacatl in totecujo in Capitan, in oc vnca Motecuçoma, in jquac ontepevaloia cana, ca cemolinj in Mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, in tepanecatl in aculhoa: in jxqujch tepanecatl, in jxqujch aculhoa yoan in jxqujch chinampanecatl, ca ticemolinj, in tontepeva: auh in onia altepetl, ca njmã ie ic valnecuepalo, cecenjaca cõmati in jmaltepeuh. Auh çatepan valhuj in altepevaque in ie pevallaca, qujvalitquj in intlacalaqujl, intlatquj valmuchiuhtiuh in chalchivitl in teucujtlatl, in quetzalli yoan in oc cequj tlaçotetl, in teuxivitl, in xiuhtototl, in tlauhquechol: qujmomacaia in Motecuçoma, çan cẽ vmpa valaci, çã vmpa valmocemaci in tenuchtitlan in jxqujch tlacalaqujli in teucujtlatl.

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[1] Corresponding Spanish text: "Otra vez dixo Marina al señor capitan, dize que busqueys doziento tejuelos de oro tan grandes, como esto y señalaba con las manos, el grandor de vna patena de caliz."

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[Since the whole volume is an account of the Spanish conquest of Mexico and is therefore a historical document, this source has not been marked for category 175 (Recorded History). Researchers are referred to category 116.]